Masculinity, Morality, and National Identity in the *Boy's Own Paper*, 1879-1913

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Contents

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N.B.

This research project continues on from the work carried out in my Master's dissertation 'Heroism, Camaraderie and Lots of Facial Hair: Illustrated Adventure Stories of the *B.O.P.*, 1895-1896' (unpublished dissertation, Sussex University, 2009). Sections of Introduction and Chapter 1 have been previously published as '"The Squire of Boyhood": G. A. Hutchison and the *Boy's Own Paper*', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 47 (2014), pp. 631-647.

This thesis has been referenced using the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA) guidelines. For the footnote referencing of the *Boy's Own Paper* and *Girl's Own Paper*, I use the abbreviations *BOP* and *GOP* respectively. The Religious Tract Society is also abbreviated to RTS.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the representation of Victorian masculinity in the *Boy's Own Paper*. While the *Boy's Own Paper* (1879-1967) is widely recognised as being one of the most successful juvenile periodicals of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries there remains very little critical analysis on the publication's literature. This thesis aims to contribute to the advancement of the study of nineteenth-century juvenile periodicals by providing the first in-depth textual study of the *Boy's Own Paper.*

Focusing on the *Boy's Own Paper* during George Andrew Hutchison's editorship (1879-1913), this project brings together masculinities studies and current research on nineteenth-century periodicals. By examining the reoccurring themes of masculinity in the *Boy's Own Paper*, this study reveals how the *Boy's Own Paper* struggled to balance Christian beliefs, changing social demands, and growing imperial objectives. Each chapter delivers a close reading of selected texts ranging from illustrated fictional stories written by leading authors of the day, such as G. A. Henty and Talbot Baines Reed, to letters sent to the editor by Christian missionaries living overseas.

The first chapter outlines the editorial practices of Hutchison and addresses the publication's implied readership. Chapter 2 examines physical masculinity as explored through the paper's representation of the schoolboy and the athlete as national hero-figures. The relationship between masculinity, self-help, and philanthropy is studied in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 analyses how the racial stereotypes featured within the *Boy's Own Paper* perpetuated the ideologies of British masculine superiority. Finally, Chapter 5 broadens the study of gender by addressing the participation and representation of female contributors and characters. I conclude by considering the future of *Boy's Own Paper* research and the implications of periodicals studies in the digital age. In doing so, this study offers a holistic and up-to-date reading of the *Boy's Own Paper*.

List of Illustrations

Introduction:
The Boy's Own Paper and Nineteenth-Century Masculinity in Context

How much of the British way of life was inculcated by the *B.O.P.* would make a worthy theme for some researcher!

Cecil Northcott, *The Times* (1967)[1]

Introduction to the *Boy's Own Paper*

The *Boy's Own Paper* (1879-1967), first published by the Religious Tract Society (RTS) in 1879, was produced in an attempt to combat the negative influence 'penny dreadfuls' were supposedly having on their young male readers. As an Evangelical organisation committed to publishing and distributing religious literature in Great Britain and its overseas mission projects, the RTS's aim was to produce a quality periodical that presented Christian values through the use of a contemporary format. The paper's Latin motto, 'Quicquid agunt pueri nostri farrago libelli', translated as 'Whatever boys do, is the manifold subject of our little book', reflected the vision of the paper's first editor, George Andrew Hutchison (d. 1913). Hutchison believed that the most successful way to gain the attention of juvenile male readers would be to produce a weekly paper that 'appealed to boys and not their grandmothers'.[2] Described as 'An Illustrated Weekly Journal, comprising Tales, Sports, Pastimes, Travel, Adventure, and a variety of Amusement and Instruction',[3] the *Boy's Own Paper* became one of the most recognisable and long-running boys' periodicals of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

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[1] Cecil Northcott, 'Printed For Boys', *The Times* (London), 14 January 1967, p. 9. *The Times Digital Archive* [accessed 21 December 2015].
[2] G. A. Hutchison quoted in Jack Cox, *Take A Tub, Sir! The Story of the Boy's Own Paper* (Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1982), p. 20.
[3] Anon, 'The Boy's Own Paper', *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, 10 (March 1879), p. 27.

Research Objectives

Investigating the *Boy's Own Paper* during the period of Hutchison's editorship (1879-1913), this project bookends the first and most successful period of the publication's history. During his editorship, the publication underwent few changes regarding style and layout, indicating Hutchison's editorial control and continuity in the formulation and maintenance of the *Boy's Own Paper*. The title of the publication signifies an intended juvenile male reader, which raises expectations that the content will, in some way, present and define certain masculine ideals and standards of the period. Examining the *Boy's Own Paper* through the lens of masculinity, this thesis provides the first in-depth, full-length textual analysis of the publication. Previous work has been limited to articles or anthologies so this book-length study is the first to draw together and advance discussions of editorial procedure and the public school in the *Boy's Own Paper*, and it breaks new ground by expanding the analysis to include philanthropy, self-help, the foreign and the female. It does so, firstly, by investigating the underlying editorial stance of Hutchison and his contributing role in the perpetuation of nineteenth-century masculine literature. Secondly, it explores the ideals surrounding masculinity within the *Boy's Own Paper*, which exhibited a complex struggle to balance Christian beliefs, social expectations, and national responsibilities.

Because this thesis spans the thirty-four years of Hutchison's editorship of the *Boy's Own Paper*, it has been necessary to manage the content effectively. Therefore, in order to provide a holistic perspective of the publication's attitude towards masculinity, I have taken a case study approach to the *Boy's Own Paper*. Each chapter focuses on a series of themes that contributed to the *Boy's Own Paper*'s general image of masculinity. The texts selected for each chapter cover a variety of genres including: adventure fiction, school stories, biographical accounts, travel writing, sporting literature, and editorial columns. The study also takes into consideration paratextual material such as illustrations and advertisements. The range of material covered in each chapter represents the miscellany of literature published in the periodical. Therefore, the very nature of

this project is interdisciplinary and draws on numerous areas of study, including periodicals research, cultural and social history, art history and children's literature. In considering a range of genres published in the *Boy's Own Paper*, this study demonstrates how various aspects of nineteenth-century masculinity were embedded in the publication.

Fictional representations of masculinity are at the centre of my analysis. I look at the writings of well-known authors such as W. H. G. Kingston (1814-1880) and G. A. Henty (1832-1902) whose literary reputations helped establish the *Boy's Own Paper* as a quality publication. Equally important to this study is the critique of works published in the *Boy's Own Paper* by lesser-known authors such as Ascott R. Hope (1846-1927) and David Ker (1842-1914), who were amongst the most prolific contributors to the *Boy's Own Paper* but have now been largely forgotten. The majority of the works chosen for this study, by both well-known and obscure authors, were never reprinted into book form. As a result, these works have received little or no previous critical investigation thus making the majority of the textual analysis provided in this thesis an original contribution to the study of literature published in nineteenth-century juvenile periodicals.

Research for this project has been conducted through the study of personal copies of the *Boy's Own Paper* (weeklies, monthlies, and annuals), hard copies of the *Boy's Own Annual* held in the British Library in London, and the digitised copies of the nineteenth-century issues of the *Boy's Own Paper* available through *GaleCengage*.[4] Researching the weeklies, monthlies, and annuals alongside each other is important, as there were variations between editions. '[A]lthough *The*

[4] Copies of the weekly and monthly issues of the *BOP* and the *Boy's Own Annual* can be sourced fairly easily through online booksellers. Websites such as www.scribd.com also provide scanned copies of a limited number of twentieth-century issues of the *Boy's Own Paper*. Full runs of the *Boy's Own Annual* are obtainable in hard copy at the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, and other larger academic libraries. Examples of the weekly and monthly issues are sparsely available in special collections scattered across the UK, USA, and Australia. Digitised copies of the *Boy's Own Paper* (1879-1900) are now available through the online database *19th Century UK Periodicals*. Volumes 1-23 (1879-1900) of the *Boy's Own Annual* were originally microfilmed in black and white by the National Library of Scotland between 2006 and 2008 and were then scanned by *GaleCengage*. The Rare Books Curator at the National Library of Scotland has kindly provided the information regarding microfilms and digitisation.

Boy's Own Annuals contained every serial episode,' Norman Wright notes, 'they did omit some material originally included in the weekly and monthly parts. Transversely, the annual contained some new material'.[5] The slight modifications between editions confirm the importance of consulting the multiple formats. Researching hard copies of the *Boy's Own Paper* delivers a unique understanding of the publication through the inclusion of paratextual material, such as advertisements and presentation plates, which are generally omitted from the digitised and library held copies. Digitised copies enable the ability to keyword search and cross-reference across the *Boy's Own Paper*, along with a wide selection of domestic and foreign nineteenth-century periodicals and newspapers, which has resulted in research findings that would have been previously impossible before the advent of online reading. These findings offer new insights into the *Boy's Own Paper*'s reception and readership within Britain and in English-speaking colonies. In consulting the *Boy's Own Paper*'s multiple formats, this project demonstrates the significance of researching both digital and print copies of the periodical in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the publication.

Online accessibility naturally encourages a detailed comparative study between the *Boy's Own Paper* and its contemporary nineteenth-century juvenile periodicals.[6] Chapter 5 of this study does refer to the *Girl's Own Paper* as a means of establishing what divisions were made between the two RTS publications. Other references to contemporary periodicals and newspapers are made in order to position the *Boy's Own Paper* within the periodical press and to gain a better understanding of the how the publication was received. However, the purpose of this thesis is to deliver an in-depth textual analysis of the *Boy's Own Paper*. Future research carried out on the *Boy's Own Paper* and nineteenth-century juvenile periodicals would certainly benefit from a comprehensive study and is a project to consider in the future.

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[5] Norman Wright, 'Collecting "The Boy's Own Paper"', *Book and Magazine Collector*, 189 (1999), pp. 54-66 (p. 59). <http://friardale.co.uk/Collectors%20Digest/CDA%201962.pdf> [accessed 9 September 2015].

[6] Digitised juvenile magazines available through *GaleCengage* include: *Boys of England* (1866-1906), *Chums* (1892-1941), *Every Boy's Magazine* (1862-1889), and *Young England* (1866-1937).

The remainder of this introductory chapter contextualises the *Boy's Own Paper* within nineteenth-century juvenile periodical publishing history and the ideological debates surrounding manliness and masculinity taking place during this period. It then situates the *Boy's Own Paper* within current scholarly research, highlighting key areas in which the publication has been critically received. In conclusion, I provide a brief outline of the ensuing chapters and their contribution to the overall discussion of masculinity in the *Boy's Own Paper*.

Nineteenth-Century Juvenile Periodicals

The study of juvenile periodical publishing begins in the middle of the eighteenth century with John Newbery's 1751 *Lilliputian Magazine*. Newbery's various publications have classified him as 'one of the first publishers to view children as consumers, and he was clearly sensitive to the possibilities of a new mass market of juvenile readers'.[7] Changing attitudes towards children generated new creative and commercial opportunities for writers and publishers. The periodical became a favourite medium throughout the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century because of its cheaper production costs and overall accessibility. Following Newbery's initial success, rival publisher John Marshall launched *The Juvenile Magazine*; *Or, An Instructive and Entertaining Miscellany for Youth of Both Sexes* in 1788. *The Juvenile Magazine*, a monthly publication edited by Lucy Peacock, contained a miscellany of stories, poetry, and puzzles. Unlike later periodicals that targeted a gendered readership, these volumes had regular male and female contributing authors who catered to both boys and girls who were predominantly from middle-class families.

The 1861 repeal of the Paper Tax resulted in affordable publishing and a high number of quality weekly publications entered the market, including those targeting a juvenile audience. As Richard Altick notes: 'Another phenomenon of

[7] Janis Dawson, 'Trade and Plumb-Cake in Lilliput: The Origins of Juvenile Consumerism and Early English Children's Periodicals', *Children's Literature in Education*, 29 (1998), 175-98 (p. 176).

cheap journalism after mid-century was the great prosperity of juvenile papers.'[8] The Education Act of 1870 also played an integral part in the phenomenal success of children's papers and the formation of thousands of new schools meant that literacy became formally recognised across the class spectrum. Entrepreneurs such as the publishers Edwin J. Brett and the Emmett brothers were quick to capitalise on this specific market and the ensuing competition resulted in an onslaught of publications, many with confusingly similar titles. According to John Springhall: 'By the early 1880s, over 900 new juvenile books were being issued annually and 15 secular boys 'periodicals were competing simultaneously.'[9] Brett alone published more than a dozen different titles between the 1860s and early 1900s.[10] For the most part, the content of these papers remained the same and changing the title was an easy way to generate a sense of demand and to bolster sales. Brett's most significant contribution to juvenile periodicals came in the form of *Boys of England* (1866-1906), a publication that Springhall considers 'made its primary appeal to the upwardly mobile: young office boys, shop assistants, apprentices, and junior clerks'.[11] Other papers specifically targeting adolescent male readers included: *Boy's Journal* (1863-1871), *Every Boy's Magazine* (1862-1889), *Kingston's Magazine for Boys* (1859-1863) and *The Young Briton* (1869-1877). Numerous other publications did not last more than a few issues, while others were renamed, rebranded, amalgamated; they all had a common purpose – to turn a profit.

Many of these publications were considered highly sensational, a quality that attracted young readers but caused social concern. Writers and publishers opposed to the 'penny dreadfuls' issued their own penny periodicals as alternatives for the growing literate population of children, and boys in particular. Unlike these publications, which pursued financial gain, the RTS created the *Boy's*

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[8] Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 362.
[9] John Springhall, '"Disseminating Impure Literature": The "Penny Dreadful" Publishing Business Since 1860', *The Economic History Review*, 47 (1994), 567-84 (p. 568).
[10] For a complete listing refer to *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983), p. 15.
[11] Springhall, '"Disseminating Impure Literature"', p. 575.

Own Paper with the specific commitment to provide a healthy alternative to the sensational 'penny dreadfuls' and the apparently negative influence they were having on young male readers. Patrick Dunae writes: 'the Society declared that most of the illustrated papers available to the young were "eminently fitted to train up a race of reckless, dare-devil, lying, cruel, and generally contemptible characters"'.[12] The RTS was aware that if they wanted to effectively challenge these publications they would be required to use a format that appealed to growing tastes and trends in publishing. Having had success with periodical publications such as *Leisure Hour: An Illustrated Magazine for Home Reading* (1852-1905) and the *Children's Companion* (1837-1923), the RTS was familiar with the medium and its popularity.[13] According to Jack Cox, the RTS 'wish[ed] to see an appropriate penny periodical for "shop-boys and girls", young people leaving school, and children still at their lessons'.[14] The Society, after much debate, agreed that their standard tracts would not be effective in securing the attention of the growing number of young readers and decided to produce a quality weekly magazine for boys. With the success of the *Boy's Own Paper*, the RTS began its publication of the *Girl's Own Paper* (1880-1956). Together they became, as Claudia Nelson observes, 'the most popular adolescent periodicals of the late-Victorian age'.[15] The Society's decision to publish separate magazines based on gender divisions will be examined further in Chapter 1 of this study.

Principles of 'Muscular Christianity' and Manliness

The ideological constructions of masculinity within the *Boy's Own Paper* incorporated definitions of manliness formulated by mid-nineteenth-century

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[12] Patrick Dunae, '*Boy's Own Paper*: Origins and Editorial Policies', *The Private Library*, 9 (1976), 121-158, p. 125. [Quoted from the RTS Annual report (1878, p. x).]
[13] *Children's Companion* (1837-1844) was followed by *Child's Companion and Juvenile Instructor* (1844-1923).
[14] Jack Cox, *Take A Tub, Sir! The Story of the Boy's Own Paper* (Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1982), p. 16. [Taken from the 1868 RTS Annual Report.]
[15] Claudia Nelson, 'Growing Up: Childhood', in *A New Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture*, ed. by Herbert F. Tucker (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd., 2014), pp. 69-81 (p. 77).

writers such as Thomas Carlyle. Carlyle's statement: 'The History of the world is but the Biography of great men' encapsulated the ideologies outlined in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (1841). [16] According to David Rosen: 'Carlyle creates a category of manliness that one cannot enter simply by behaving in a "manly" fashion, positing the notion of a "deeper" manliness'.[17] At the same time, Carlyle considered heroism a trait that all men could achieve. 'I see the blessedest result preparing itself', he wrote, 'not abolition of Hero-worship, but rather what I would call a whole World of Heroes. If Hero mean *sincere man*, why may not every one of us be a Hero?'.[18] This idea of every man possessing the potential to behave heroically became a popular theme in nineteenth-century literature. Peter Parlay, in his preface to William Martin's *Heroism of Boyhood* (1865), observed that it was not just through grand gestures and sacrifice that heroism was demonstrated. Parlay wrote:

> In former times, a man, to be a hero, was expected to slay his thousands, to found empires, and to subjugate nations. But now, better taught by the experience of the past, we understand that true heroism may consist in performing our duty in that state of life unto which it may please God to call us. There is heroism in refraining from evil, in speaking the truth, in the exercise of humanity, in devoting ourselves to some difficult task for the sake of others, and in the vindication of principle.[19]

Heroism was used to express the importance of character building and the display of manly behaviour through everyday actions, not only through demonstrations of physical domination and warfare. Carlyle's interpretation that manliness was integral to man's existence, both in a physical and spiritual context, became central to the theology of Charles Kingsley.[20]

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[16] Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (London: Chapman and Hall Limited, 1840), p. 27.
[17] David Rosen, 'The Volcano and the Cathedral: Muscular Christianity and the Origins of Primal Manliness', in *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, ed. by Donald Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 17-44, (pp. 21-22).
[18] Carlyle, p. 118.
[19] William Martin, *Heroism of Boyhood; or, What Boys Have Done* (London: Darton and Hodge, 1865), p. iii.
[20] For a more detailed critique of Carlyle and Kingsley see James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (1995).

Kingsley's approach became known as 'muscular Christianity', a term awarded him by critics of his aggressive opinions that emphasised the physicality of religious fervour. T. C. Sanders famously described Kingsley's archetypal man in an article for the *Saturday Review* (1857):

> His ideal is a man who fears God and can walk a thousand miles in a thousand hours – who, in the language which Mr. Kingsley has made popular, breathes God's free air on God's rich earth, and at the same time can hit a woodcock, doctor a horse, and twist a poker round his fingers.[21]

His vigorous approach was controversial and Kingsley's notorious conflict with John Henry Newman in 1864 demonstrated the contradictory religious viewpoints surrounding Christian theology and masculine identity. Newman's philosophy, as Norman Vance writes, considered the 'rejection of ordinary human nature "in the flesh" [. . .] and a rejection of the physical world as of no consequence in comparison with the heavenly world, which forms the goal of Christian aspiration'.[22] Newman's metaphysical view of the relationship between God and man contrasted with Kingsley's very physical embodiment of spirituality.

During this period, the RTS also responded to the debate surrounding Christian approaches to masculine behaviour by publishing S. S. Pugh's *Christian Manliness* (1866). Pugh's text encouraged physical health as part of a Christian lifestyle. 'Athletic amusements', Pugh wrote, 'commend themselves to all who would keep a sound mind in a sound body; who would have this temple of the body in a fit condition for holy service and worship'.[23] His recommendation also called for moderation with the following warning: 'We need not fall into the folly of so-called "muscular Christianity", but it is a Christian duty to maintain in health and vigour the body to which God has given strength and beauty.'[24] Pugh, although critical of the ideological trend of 'muscular Christianity', featured healthy living

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[21] T. C. Sanders, 'Two Years Ago', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 21 February 1857, pp. 176-177, (p. 176) <http://search.proquest.com/docview/9477903?accountid=14182> [accessed 26 August 2015]
[22] Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 32-33.
[23] S. S. Pugh, *Christian Manliness: A Book of Examples and Principles for Young Men* (London: RTS, 1866), p. 146.
[24] *Ibid*.

and physical fitness in his definition of Christian manliness. Several years later, in an article on the periodicals of RTS, a member of the Society claimed: 'Manliness is an essential part of Christianity, and I think the author who cannot depict that must be ignorant of the higher, but still, not uncommon qualities of human life.'[25] Thus the debate surrounding masculinity within the RTS became a central theme of the *Boy's Own Paper*. It also indicates that from the very onset the *Boy's Own Paper* was expected to address issues of manliness and masculinity through the literature it published.

While the *Boy's Own Paper* was published some fifteen years after the Kingsley and Newman debate and Pugh's *Christian Manliness*, it still drew on their ideologies. As John Springhall writes: 'The portrayal of manliness became the most essential staple of *BOP*, so much so that Dunae has labelled it the "unofficial organ" of the "muscular Christianity" movement.'[26] Hutchison's approach, similar to Thomas Hughes's, demonstrated a movement away from the didactic religious tone of literature previously considered morally wholesome. According to Dunae, Hutchison 'passionately believed that athletic reports and adventure stories which implicitly portrayed the Christian gentleman were of far more importance than reprinted evangelical tracts'.[27] Although there were evident ideological crossovers, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s emphasis on athleticism and physical fitness were never directly aligned with Kingsley's 'muscular Christianity'.

'Manliness' has often been used as a generic umbrella term that incorporates both 'muscular Christianity' and 'gentlemanliness' and presents a homogenous view of masculine ideals from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As J. A. Mangan and James Walvin observe in their introduction to *Manliness and Morality*:

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[25] Anon, 'The Periodicals', *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, 19 (June 1881), p. 35.
[26] John Springhall, 'Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to the Working–Class Adolescents, 1880-1914', in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. by J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 52-74, (p. 65).
[27] Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', p. 132.

> [I]t would be wrong to imagine that manliness was a simple, single, coherent concept linked to a single locality. It was, in effect, a portmanteau term which embraced a variety of overlapping ideologies regionally interpreted, which changed over time and which, at specific moments, appear to be discrete, even conflicting, in emphasis.[28]

Manliness was a romanticised term that encompassed a variety of qualities: strength exhibited through physical health, a deep sense of morality, success through hard work, and individualism. The following chapters demonstrate how the *Boy's Own Paper*'s dissemination of the ideological construct of Christian manliness, which included attributes of the heroic knight, manifested itself across the publication's literature and particularly in the paper's representations of the public schoolboy and the athlete. Through the study of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s archetypal hero-figure it also becomes evident that this paradigm of masculinity contained numerous contradictions. As Donald Hall observes: 'The hyperbole of the muscular Christians brings into relief the frictions and fractures of an era, while their vision of social harmony and religious salvation represents the unattainable "reach" that lay well outside of their "grasp".'[29] These qualities played into the idealistic imaginings of masculinity, producing an unrealistic prototype that was meant to inspire young readers to emulate.

The *Boy's Own Paper* in Critical Context

Considering the *Boy's Own Paper*'s significant position within the history of Victorian periodical publishing there has been surprisingly little substantial critical examination carried out on the publication. Writing on the *Boy's Own Paper*, Philip Warner states:

> Nobody who has read it has tried to attack it. Perhaps there have been resourceful sociologists who have picked up copies with a view to denouncing it as an imperialistic, class-conscious, insidious publication, but having made the fatal mistake of starting to read it perhaps they became so

[28] J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, 'Introduction', in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. by J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 1-6 (p. 3).
[29] Donald Hall, 'Muscular Christianity: Reading and Writing the Male Social Body', in *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, ed. by Donald Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1-13 (p. 4).

> immersed in the stories, often true and sometimes fiction based on fact, that they forgot their original purpose.[30]

Unlike Warner, who places the *Boy's Own Paper* outside the realm of critical analysis because of its sentimental associations, Dunae considers that the paper's mainstream popularity is central to the purpose of investigation. Dunae observes:

> The *BOP* became an institution: loved by readers, admired by critics, and honoured by those who had known it. No other boys' paper – and few adult periodicals—achieved such acclaim. In fact so respected and so popular was the *Boy's Own Paper* that it might be regarded, with little fear of exaggeration, as the most important and influential juvenile periodical ever published.[31]

The longevity of the *Boy's Own Paper* certainly attests to the publication's status in periodical publishing history. The paper's initial popularity with juvenile subscribers gradually gave way to an audience of older readers reminiscent for their boyhood. For the modern-day reader, the *Boy's Own Paper* is an evocative symbol of a bygone era while many of its attitudes towards gender and race make it unfashionable and at times offensive.

The resulting tensions between cultural nostalgia and antiquated ideologies should not negate the *Boy's Own Paper*'s position within juvenile periodical history. Rather, it is because of these tensions that the publication requires further critical examination. The *Boy's Own Paper* is, as Dunae notes, 'rightly credited [. . .] with being one of the most important journals in its field. But a detailed history or an in-depth study of the *BOP* has never been written'.[32] Dunae's own research into the *Boy's Own Paper*'s editorial policies offers a valuable foundation for further investigations, and subsequent work carried out in the field of nineteenth-century juvenile literature has relied heavily on his archival research. However, the observations made by Warner and Dunae in the 1970s are still relevant today as research carried out on nineteenth-century periodicals has failed to produce further substantial readings of the paper, specifically in the area of textual analysis.

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[30] Philip Warner, *The Best of British Pluck* (London: MacDonald and Jane's, 1976), p. 1.
[31] Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', p. 156.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 123.

My thesis brings this research up-to-date and delivers a comprehensive study of the representations of masculinity in the *Boy's Own Paper*.

In his seminal article 'Charting the Golden Stream: Thoughts on a Directory of Victorian Periodicals' (1971), Michael Wolff calls for a new era within Victorian studies that focused on nineteenth-century periodicals as key research material. He writes: 'The newspapers and periodicals occupy an unrivalled position as repositories of the general life of Victorian England. They represent the complete national range and they represent it on every imaginable topic.'[33] Wolff's vision to unite the efforts of researchers working with Victorian periodicals has since been realised, if not exceeded.[34] The foundation of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals (RSVP) in 1968 and its accompanying publication the *Victorian Periodicals Review* (*VPR,* 1979-present) have expanded the study of nineteenth-century periodicals into an active and innovative field of scholarly study.[35] The RSVP supports an international community of researchers, facilitating a high standard of quality research through its publications, awards, and its annual conference.

Along with this influx in Victorian periodicals studies there has been a movement away from the previously held view that the periodical serves as a static and supplementary guide to nineteenth-century literature and culture. Lyn

[33] Michael Wolff, 'Charting the Golden Stream: Thoughts on a Directory of Victorian Periodicals', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 4:3 (1971), 22-38 (p. 26).
[34] Kay Boardman's article, '"Charting the Golden Stream": Recent Work on Victorian Periodicals' (2006) provides a very useful survey of the various avenues of research carried out on Victorian periodicals since Wolff's original appeal. Significant bibliographic directories include: *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900* (1966, 1972, 1979, 1987, 1989), *The Waterloo Dictionary of Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900* (1977) and its revised edition *The Waterloo Dictionary of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900* (2003), and the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (2009).
[35] The *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* (1968-1978) preceded the *Victorian Periodicals Review*. For a more detailed history of the *VPR* see: N. Merrill Distad, 'The Origins and History of "Victorian Periodicals Review", 1954-84', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 18 (1985), 86-98.

Pykett's 'Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context' (1989) offers a convincing argument for 'this shift of theoretical purpose'.[36] She writes:

> Far from being a mirror of Victorian culture, the periodicals have come to be seen as a central component of that culture – an 'active and integral part', and they can only be read and understood as part of that culture and society, and in the context of other knowledges about them.[37]

Margaret Beetham further encourages reading the periodical as 'active' rather than 'reflective':

> Literary and social historians are used to turning to periodicals for evidence of the past. However, they have rarely treated them as texts in themselves, using them instead as repositories from which they can remove 'facts', expressions of ideas and ideology, or fictional work in prose and poetry.[38]

The commonly accepted method of extracting 'evidence of the past' is the result of what Patrick Leary terms the 'cherry-picking' approach whereby periodical literature is cited out of context.[39] As scholars working in the field of periodicals studies argue, this practice negates the importance of the periodical format and forces the periodical to the margins of serious academic investigation.

Foundational work carried out on Victorian periodicals exclude the *Boy's Own Paper*. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel's seminal text *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (1994) contains a single reference to the *Girl's Own Annual* but makes no reference to the *Boy's Own Paper*. The lack of an in-depth study of the *Boy's Own Paper* within the expanding field of periodicals research suggests an imposed textual hierarchy that situates the juvenile periodical within the remit of children's literature, excluding it from the same rigorous interdisciplinary study awarded titles such as *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817-1980), *Punch* (1841-2002), and *All The Year Round* (1859-1895). However, as the following chapter discusses, the *Boy's Own Paper* appealed to a wide-ranging readership that included adults. So while the paper was certainly

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[36] Lyn Pykett, 'Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 22 (1989), 100-108 (p. 102).
[37] *Ibid*.
[38] Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 5.
[39] Leary, p. 80.

aimed at the male juvenile reader, the variety of literature it published tapped into broader themes of social interest.

Subsequent research, which includes Marjory Lang's 'Childhood's Champions: Mid-Victorian Children's Periodicals and the Critics' (1980), Diana Dixon's 'Victorian and Edwardian Periodicals for Children: Some Bibliographical Problems' (1986), and Claudia Nelson's 'Mixed Messages: Authoring and Authority in British Boys' Magazines' (1997), have addressed the need to establish a specific discourse on nineteenth-century juvenile periodicals. As a result, there now exists a valuable introductory framework that contextualises the *Boy's Own Paper* within nineteenth-century children's literature and juvenile periodical publishing history. However, there still remains little recent research carried out specifically on boys' periodicals of the nineteenth century. In many instances, the *Boy's Own Paper* operates as a quintessential example of its genre within a wider research context, with arguments based on secondary source material. Furthermore, the dates of these studies are not very recent, indicating that a contemporary study of nineteenth-century boys' magazines is still required.

Research carried out specifically on the *Boy's Own Paper* has predominantly taken a historical approach with very little detailed textual analysis. Dunae's research provides a comprehensive body of work on the *Boy's Own Paper*. His issue of *The Private Library*, entitled 'Boy's Own Paper: Origins and Editorial Policies' (1976), offers an extensive examination of the practicalities involved in publishing a boys' magazine under the Religious Tract Society.[40] Based on the RTS archives, his research delivers insight into the editorial decisions made by the RTS committees and by Hutchison. It also sheds light on the cost of publication and sale figures. Dunae conducted research in the 1970s, when the RTS archives were still housed at the United Society for Christian Literature (USCL) [41] and although large portions of the RTS archives were destroyed during the Blitz there were a selection of volumes that survived. With the assistance of several USCL employees

[40] *The Private Library* is the quarterly publication of the Private Libraries Association and publishes works of interest to collectors of rare books.
[41] In 1935, the Religious Tract Society merged with the United Society for Christian Literature (USCL).

who had first-hand knowledge of the collection, Dunae was able to access these 'Badly charred and crisp with age' records and carry out a significant amount of archival research on the history of the *Boy's Own Paper*.[42] The damaged hard copies were transferred onto microfiche in the mid-1980s after the collection was relocated to the Special Collections of the School of Oriental and Asian Studies Library.[43]

More recently, Aileen Fyfe's *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain* (2004) delivers a history of the RTS as a publisher, focusing on the mid-century archives. Her contribution to the knowledge of the RTS is impressive, but it excludes the period during which the *Boy's Own Paper* was published. A more recent example of RTS archival research can be found in Alison Louise Enever's PhD thesis, '"More than just a magazine": The *Boy's Own Paper* and *Girl's Own Paper*, 1914-1967' (2014). Enever's work offers further insight into how the *Boy's Own Paper* and *Girl's Own Paper* were affected by the RTS's publishing regulations. The project's contribution to the study of periodical publishing originates from her detailed archival research, which offers new evidence of RTS committee minutes and sales records. In terms of textual analysis, Enever focuses specifically on the non-fictional content of both periodicals but does not include any commentary on fictional literature. She defends her decision, arguing:

> The fictional content of both papers is arguably over-privileged in much of the historiography, and it is important to remember that these were far more than story papers. [. . .] A significant percentage of both papers' content was comprised of non-fiction, and within *GOP* in particular, fiction was often vastly outweighed by non-fiction.[44]

While working with such a large collection of material requires a rigorous selection process, omitting fictional literature from analysis on the grounds of it

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[42] Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', p. 124.

[43] Having consulted the RTS archives at SOAS, I was unable to obtain any substantial information pertaining to my specific research topic as many of the gaps in the collection are in the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. These records remain a valuable source of insight into the RTS as a publishing organisation and there is still further archival work to be done on the collection.

[44] Louise Enever, '"More than just a magazine": The *Boy's Own Paper* and *Girl's Own Paper*, 1914-1967' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Southampton 2014), pp. 49-50.

being ‘over-privileged' ignores the fact that the fictional and non-fictional literature published in these periodicals were intended to be read alongside each other. Enever’s research complements the work carried out in Chapter 1 of this thesis in its efforts to gain a clearer understanding of the relationship between the *Boy's Own Paper*’s editorial policies and the expectations of its readers. However, our projects focus on different time periods of the *Boy's Own Paper*’s publishing history, which raise different issues in terms of the publication’s style and content. Furthermore, her historiographical methodology differs significantly from my close textual analysis of the *Boy's Own Paper*’s fiction and non-fiction literature through the lens of masculinity.

Prior to the recent digitisation of the nineteenth-century issues of the *Boy's Own Paper*, access to print copies of the publication would have been limited to partial runs, selected issues, or possibly just a single volume *Boy’s Own Annual*. In some instances, it would even seem that critical arguments have been founded on the book editions of popular *Boy's Own Paper* stories while some research appears to have been entirely based on the textual extracts found in Jack Cox’s *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!* (1982) and Warner’s *Best of British Pluck* (1976). Unlike Dunae’s sound critical examination of the *Boy's Own Paper*, the histories provided by Cox and Warner take a much more informal approach, focusing on the publication’s reputation rather than literary contributions. Having been the final editor of the *Boy's Own Paper*, Cox offers first-hand insight into the history of the publication. Although his personal association with the publication possibly brings into question the objectivity of his interpretation of events, his account delivers a unique perspective that cannot be entirely dismissed. Warner, a military historian, presents a collection of textual extracts and illustrations that epitomises the style of literature popularised by the *Boy's Own Paper*. However, his accompanying commentary delivers an indiscriminate critique that reflects a highly sentimental ‘boy’s own’ attitude.

Further commentary on the *Boy's Own Paper* appears in studies carried out on the history of nineteenth-century children’s publishing but, again, it is restricted in its scope and depth. Kirsten Drotner, in her seminal text *English*

Children and Their Magazines, 1751-1945 (1988), considers the role of the *Boy's Own Paper* in nineteenth-century print culture but her overview of the publication is brief in comparison to her treatment of the *Girl's Own Paper*. Kelly Boyd's *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (2003) examines the social implications of masculine ideologies and how they were presented to various classes. Spanning nearly a century's worth of periodical publishing, Boyd analyses perceptions of masculinity in light of social changes occurring during that period. Her research focuses primarily on publications aimed at a working-class readership, including *Boys of England* (1866-1899), *Magnet* (1900-1940), and *Rover* (1922-1973). The *Boy's Own Paper* is situated outside of this remit because it had the financial backing of the RTS and it generally appealed to a middle-class readership. Boyd's study does locate the *Boy's Own Paper* within the wider context of nineteenth-century juvenile periodical publishing and contributes to the discussion surrounding the paper's intended reader. However, the coverage is necessarily brief and does not provide a sustained analysis of the *Boy's Own Paper*.

Recent unpublished studies of nineteenth-century juvenile boys' periodicals include Christopher Banham's historical study of juvenile periodicals in his thesis '*Boys of England* and Edwin J. Brett, 1866-99' (University of Leeds, 2006). This includes a section devoted to Talbot Baines Reed's influence on the genre of public school stories and provides a brief analysis of Reed's *Boy's Own Paper* contributions 'The Adventures of a Three Guinea Watch' (1880-1881) and 'The Fifth Form at St. Dominic's: A Public School Story' (1881-82). Avery Erratt Jones's MA dissertation 'Boys Need Girls: Gender Norms from Nineteenth-Century Boys' Periodicals to *Peter and Wendy*' (Baylor University, 2012) dedicates a chapter to representations of boyhood in the *Boy's Own Paper* and *Boys of England*. Lindsay Rosa's MA dissertation 'Angel Outside of the House: The New Woman in British Periodicals 1890-1910' (Butler University, 2015) considers the representation of the New Woman in the *Girl's Own Paper*. While her arguments are based on Terri Doughty, *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper, 1880-1907* (2004), it is important to

acknowledge a growing academic interest in the nineteenth-century juvenile periodicals.

The *Boy's Own Paper* also remains a subject of interest in wider discussions of popular culture. Other responses mirror the language of the publication as seen in Andrew Stuttaford's *New Criterion* essay 'Never Such Innocence Again' (2009). Although he delivers accurate information regarding the history of the publication, his casual 'chummy' vocabulary suggests the absence of any serious critical commentary. This modern affection has produced collections such as Karl Sabbagh's *Your Case Is Hopeless: Bracing Advice From the 'Boy's Own Paper'* (2007), a reprinted selection of the most direct and humorous responses that were published in the paper's correspondence pages. While publications such as these capitalise on the antiquated language and ideologies associated with the publication, they also confirm the mainstream appeal of early boys' magazines.

These research projects exhibit the growing interest in nineteenth-century juvenile periodicals and demonstrate the key position the *Boy's Own Paper* holds within periodical publishing history. However, the current literature available merely provides an overview of the publication and there remains a significant gap in this emerging body of work for a more detailed textual analysis of the *Boy's Own Paper*. My research begins to bridge this gap by providing an in-depth analysis of the various genres and themes that contributed to the *Boy's Own Paper*'s masculine ideals during Hutchison's editorship. It builds on this previous body of work but employs a more holistic methodology as proposed by those working in periodicals studies, demonstrating the importance of reading the *Boy's Own Paper* as a periodical and as a text. In taking this approach, this thesis offers a contemporary analysis of the *Boy's Own Paper*, advances the study of gender in nineteenth-century juvenile periodicals, and introduces new avenues for future research possibilities.

G. A. Hutchison's Editorial Policies

Chapter 1 considers the editorial role of G. A. Hutchison and addresses the challenges he faced negotiating the periodical press, pressures from the RTS committee members, changes in reading trends, and wider social anxieties regarding religion, morality, and national identity. He was central to the *Boy's Own Paper*'s image and his firm editorial policies and relentless dedication to the publication resulted in the creation of an identifiably masculine publication. Understanding Hutchison's role in the production of the *Boy's Own Paper* provides a crucial foundation for further examination of the paper's ideologies concerning masculinity.

Situated within the text as an 'old boy', Hutchison personified the 'man-child', an image that dominated the publication and formulated a bond between juvenile reader and adult author. The term 'old boy' is defined as a 'male former pupil of a school, esp. a particular British public school'.[45] And its association with the editor inculcated a sense of camaraderie between the *Boy's Own Paper* and its readers based on idealised public school tropes. Studying Hutchison's editorial policies also reveals that the publication was a contested space where ideologies, expectations, and realities clashed. Furthermore, his desire to appeal to nineteenth-century boys' interests through the medium of periodical publishing at times conflicted with his determination to establish a literary legacy.

Having established Hutchison's editorial intent, the remainder of Chapter 1 examines the *Boy's Own Paper*'s implied readerships. While the publication was aimed at juvenile boys from across the class spectrum, readers' responses recounted in the *Boy's Own Paper* and the wider media indicated a middle-class family readership. Jack Cox suggests that in order for the paper to succeed, Hutchison was required to settle on 'a compromise between the kind of paper boys would read, and buy; the kind of paper parents and teachers would approve; and the kind of paper the Society, as responsible Christian publishers, wanted to

[45] 'old boy, n. 5', *OED Online* [accessed 15 September 2015]

produce'.[46] This objective was further complicated by the recognition that although the paper was intended for juvenile boys in Britain it had a much wider appeal, drawing in a high number of female readers as well as being a popular staple of British culture within the wider Empire. Based on evidence extrapolated from correspondence and editorial columns published in the *Boy's Own Paper*, it is evident that the style of the publication appealed to girls, parents, teachers, ministers, missionaries, and colonists in addition to the British adolescent boy. Understanding the relationship between Hutchison's editorial policies and the paper's suggested reader provides a valuable foundation from which to develop the subsequent chapters' analysis of masculinity in the *Boy's Own Paper*.

The Public Schoolboy and the Athlete

The most regularly depicted hero-figures offered in the pages of the *Boy's Own Paper* were that of the public schoolboy and the athlete. Admired for their adherence to a strong code of honour, they embodied the nineteenth-century British values associated with manliness. Chapter 2 examines how these principles of masculine behaviour were reinforced by the *Boy's Own Paper*'s popularisation of the public school story and sporting commentary. Each issue of the *Boy's Own Paper* contained fictional stories and non-fictional articles that celebrated the actions of these social icons. Through the study of these mutual characteristics, it becomes apparent that the paper's articulation of masculine ideals included military rhetoric. Works by John M. MacKenzie, J. A. Mangan, John Springhall, and John Tosh focus on the structural similarities between the public school, team sports, and the military contributed to an imperialist agenda. Their research contributes to the historical discourse on nineteenth-century masculine identities; however, the emphasis placed on empire-building perpetuates a narrow definition of masculinity. Chapter 2 expands previous readings of the public schoolboy and the athlete as military hero-figures by considering how the utopian vision of public school life was both extolled and challenged. It examines the *Boy's*

[46] Cox, *Take a Cold Tub*, p. 20.

Own Paper's employment of chivalric imagery to encourage patriotic sentiments. For a generation brought up on the ideals of Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), new mythologies of heroism and masculinity contributed to an inherited British identity.

As with Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s public school stories were situated within elite educational institutions. The privileged protagonists at the centre of these stories were portrayed as aspirational role models for the paper's middle-class juvenile reader, while the formulaic plotlines endorsed a clear hierarchical structure. Chapter 2 examines Talbot Baines Reed's contribution to the popular school story genre. I have also chosen to study works by Ascott R. Hope and T. S. Millington, as their portrayal of the public school environment contrasts with Reed's utopian ideal. Chapter 2 also considers the role of team sports in the *Boy's Own Paper*'s definition of masculinity. Contributions by leading sports figures enforced a sense of masculine authority. In order to demonstrate the range of sporting literature published in the *Boy's Own Paper*, I focus on a selection of articles that were contributed by leading sportsmen of the time and that cover the three major team sports popular at the time: cricket, football, and rugby. Articles detailing team sports and public school stories often overlapped thematically, emphasising the importance of camaraderie and playing for one's side.

Self-help and Philanthropy

While the *Boy's Own Paper* undeniably celebrated the public schoolboy hero and encouraged patriotism throughout its pages, physical strength was not the single contributing factor to the paper's formation of a masculine ideal. The *Boy's Own Paper* may have appealed to a certain demographic of middle-class Christian families, but as discussed in Chapter 3, the extent of its availability through board schools, Sunday Schools, homes for boys, and in the colonial missions should not be dismissed. Chapter 3 examines how morality, as depicted in the *Boy's Own Paper*, encompassed both Christian and secular ideologies concerning the individual within society. Individualism, 'self-help', and charitable works were

regularly commended throughout the paper. In the mid-nineteenth century, Samuel Smiles articulated many of these ideals and his influence is found throughout the *Boy's Own Paper*. While the paper intended to appeal to boys at each level of society, the narrow boundaries of these ideological traits indicate a more prescriptive, middle-class view of social responsibility.

Chapter 3 examines the ideologies of self-help and philanthropy in three key fictional texts. W. H. G. Kingston's 'From Powder Monkey to Admiral: A Story of Naval Adventure' (1879-1880) delivers a unique example of extreme upward mobility. Talbot Baines Reed's 'My Friend Smith' (1882-1883) is a departure from his characteristic public school story, offering a portrayal of working life in London and the hardships that many young would have faced in nineteenth-century London. And finally, Elizabeth Eiloart's 'The Ill-Used Boy; or; Lawrence Hartley's Grievances' (1881-1882) focuses less on the rewards of self-education and hard work and more on the benefits of a philanthropic outlook. Her story demonstrates the personal benefits of helping others, creating an idealised image of society based on middle-class family values.

Non-fiction literature reinforced many of the ideals expressed in the above fiction. Articles such as 'Institutions for Boys: Homes for Working Boys' (1892-1893) and 'Homes for Working Boys' (1905) offered insight into the daily lives of working-class boys. The *Boy's Own Paper* also organised its own charitable fundraising projects, which included 'The "Boy's Own" Lifeboat Fund' (1881-1882) and 'The "Boy's Own" Gordon Memorial Fund' (1885-1889). The emphasis placed on self-help and charitable contributions across the various genres of literature published in the *Boy's Own Paper* signified a strong desire on the part of the publication to instil a sense of personal responsibility and to restore order through a harmonious, albeit hierarchical, social structure.

The Foreign Other

While Chapter 2 and 3 discuss masculinity within a primarily domestic British setting, Chapter 4 considers how these ideals were presented against a foreign

backdrop. The projected superiority of the British adventurer in juxtaposition to his inferior foreign counterpart was used to legitimise missionary activity, military intervention, and colonial rule. Focusing on the representation of the foreign Other within the *Boy's Own Paper*, Chapter 4 considers how commonly accepted negative stereotypes were employed to bolster the heroic image of the British adventurer while belittling his foreign counterpart. Foreign characters were often depicted as morally, intellectually and physically inferior, comical, or even deceitful. They were also, contradictorily, typecast as loyal subjects or were admired in the capacity of the 'noble savage'.

Chapter 4 addresses the most popularly explored themes found in the *Boy's Own Paper*. Patrick Dunae's article 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914' (1980) and Jeffrey Richards' *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (1989) examine the relationship between nineteenth-century boys' fiction and the perpetuation of imperialist ideologies.[47] Joseph Bristow's well-known *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (1991) considers the relationship between British Imperialism and the popularity of boys' adventure stories. He uses the *Boy's Own Paper* as an example of this style of literature and delivers a brief textual analysis of works by Gordon Stables and Talbot Baines Reed, providing valuable groundwork for exploring masculinity within the text. However, the majority of his arguments are based on a single volume of the *Boy's Own Annual* (1887-1888) and extracts found in secondary resources such as Warner's *Best of British Pluck* and Jeffery Richards' *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction* (1988). Chapter 4 moves away from this strand of critical analysis and looks at more recent studies such as Shih-Wen Chen's in-depth textual analysis of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s representations of China and whose research is clearly based on a strong knowledge of the publication.[48]

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[47] This publication is part of the Studies in Imperialism series edited by John MacKenzie and Andrew Thompson and published by the Manchester University Press. To date the series contains 138 titles.

[48] Her publications include: '"In Far Cathay": Representations of China in The Boy's Own Paper, 1879-1914', *Children's Literature in Education*, 44 (2013), 156-173 and *Representations of China in British Children's Fiction, 1851-1911* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

Once again, the balance between fictional and non-fictional representations is crucial to understanding the *Boy's Own Paper*'s determination to produce authentic rather than sensationalist literature. The chapter studies G. A. Henty's 'The Fetish Hole: A Story of East Africa' (1896-1897) as it exemplifies the economic benefits of colonial exploration and exploitation of West Africa. The chapter also looks at the portrayal of the civil unrest resulting from the upheaval of Western colonial rule in the West Indies in James Cox's 'Nearly Garotted: A Story of the Cuban Insurrection' (1882) and 'Nearly Eaten; or the Professor's Adventure in Haiti' (1884). The third fictional text examined is David Ker's 'The Finder of the White Elephant; or, An English Boy at the Court of Siam' (1895-1896). This adventure story features the public school hero within a colonial setting and addresses the effeminisation of the foreign Other. All three authors were noted for having experience working in the colonial setting, either in a military or journalistic capacity, thus supporting the macho image projected by many nineteenth-century adventure writers. Furthermore, their first-hand knowledge legitimised the negative stereotyping of the foreign Other.

Chapter 4 also considers the aims of Christian missionaries in relation to the imperial objectives promoted in the above fictional representations. Rev. Fred C. B. Fairey's 'The Voyage of the Evangelist; or, Canoe Traveling upon the Rivers and Coasts of Australasia' (1882) offers a key example of the changing image of missionary life. Many of the authors who contributed to the *Boy's Own Paper* were of an older generation but Fairey's familiar and approachable tone was refreshingly modern and his travel accounts reflected an adventurous public schoolboy attitude. While he did not go into much detail concerning the indigenous population of Australia, there were other articles that expressed frustration with the foreign Other's lack of British pluck. Rev. G. A. Bunbury's 'Chinese Boys and Their Ways' (1905) and Angus R. H. Mackay's 'John Chinaman, and What John Bull Owes Him' (1899) are important examples of how the culture and achievements of other countries were portrayed as inferior to that of the British.

Female Representations

Chapter 5 broadens the study of masculinity and considers the *Boy's Own Paper*'s overall attitude towards gender by examining the paper's treatment of female contributors and fictional characters. Including a chapter on the *Boy's Own Paper*'s treatment of women contributors and its portrayal of fictional and non-fictional female characters within a study of nineteenth-century masculinity is in keeping with this changing trend in juvenile periodicals studies. This chapter also considers how gender divisions were drawn between the *Boy's Own Paper* and the *Girl's Own Paper* and the ways in which they perpetuated and contradicted their objectives of producing gender-specific publications. By studying these ideals and stereotypes of womanhood, this chapter takes the study of gender in the *Boy's Own Paper* to another level and brings into focus a key aspect of the publication that has received almost no critical attention.

The study of gendered literature in periodical publishing is explored in Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green and Judith Johnston's *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (2003). There has also been a recent increase of research carried out specifically on nineteenth-century juvenile girls' literature. Kimberly Reynolds' book *Girls Only? Gender and Popular Children's Fiction in Britain, 1880-1910* (1990) provides significant groundwork in this area and has influenced a shift in focus from boys' periodicals to those aimed at a female readership. Michelle Smith's *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture: Imperial Girls, 1880-1915* (2011) delivers an up-to-date reading of imperialist juvenile literature. Moving away from the traditionally masculine interpretations of empire, she examines adventure literature written for the 'girl reader' and that featured female protagonists. Cynthia Ellen Patton's article, '"Not a limitless possession": Health Advice and Readers' Agency in *The Girl's Own Paper*, 1880-1890' (2012), looks specifically at the correspondence columns of the *Girl's Own Paper* and provides a contemporary reading of the publication's attitudes towards women's health. Kristine Moruzi's *Constructing Girlhood through the Periodical Press, 1850-1915* (2012) studies a selection of popular periodicals published during the long nineteenth century and their attempt to define appropriate female behaviour. In this study, she devotes a

chapter to the *Girl's Own Paper*'s attitude towards fitness and beauty. And most recently, Kristine Moruzi and Michelle J. Smith have collaborated on their edited collection *Colonial Girlhood in Literature, Culture and History, 1840-1950* (2014). The essays published in this text offer an interdisciplinary study of girlhood and empire. Terri Doughty's chapter examines the *Girl's Own Paper*'s serialised story 'Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home' (1882-1883). This developing area of research delivers a renewed perspective on gender in nineteenth-century periodicals and offers a style of criticism that masculinities studies would benefit from.

For the most part, the *Boy's Own Paper* aligned female qualities with domestic and moral responsibilities, attributes that complimented the publication's image of masculinity. There are four main fictional texts examined in this study of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s representation of women in fiction. First, I consider R. M. Ballantyne's 'Twice Bought: A Tale of the Oregon Goldfields' (1883). Ballantyne was a prolific author of adventure stories and most of his work carried a strong Christian message. His portrayal of Betty Bevan builds upon traditional views of desirable female qualities that were associated with the 'angel in the house' motif. Ascott R. Hope's 'Sister Mary: A Public School Story' (1889) provides a unique example of a female character at the centre of a public school story. The story also places emphasis on the growing recognition of nursing as a respectable profession for women, providing additional legitimisation of women within traditionally masculine spheres. Elizabeth Eiloart's 'Jack and John: Their Friends and Their Fortunes' (1879) experiments with traditional gender roles by addressing the possibilities of transnormative family structures. Finally, I examine Arthur Conan Doyle's depiction of woman as the exotic Other in his eight part series 'Uncle Jeremy's Household' (1887). Doyle's writing stands out from much of the literature published in the *Boy's Own Paper* because of the more adult nature of the narrative.

The chapter concludes with the study of sport, travel, and the New Woman in the *Boy's Own Paper*. Non-fiction articles, such as Aubrey Le Blond's 'Mountain-Climbing for Boys' (1902), demonstrated the changing roles of women in society

and a growing demand for intellectual and physical equality. Depictions of girls and women cycling and engaging in physical pursuits also indicated the publication's willingness to accept certain aspects of these changing roles. This sampling of literature reveals the various readings of womanhood portrayed in the *Boy's Own Paper*, which both confirm and challenge traditionally conservative nineteenth-century gender stereotypes.

Conclusion

This thesis takes the statement by Cecil Northcott, '[h]ow much of the British way of life was inculcated by the *B.O.P.*', as an invitation to investigate the 'worthy theme'. It also accepts the aforementioned statement by Warner that '[n]obody who has read it has tried to attack it' as a challenge to explore the ways in which the *Boy's Own Paper* both contributes to and extends beyond nostalgic memorabilia. The *Boy's Own Paper*'s influence is evident in a wide variety of cultural mediums, ranging from Michael Palin's television comedy 'Ripping Yarns' (1976-79) to Jeremy Paxman's BBC historical television series 'Empire' (2012). It has also provided the inspiration for the contemporary Australian artist David Bromley's paintings on childhood.[49] However, the most significant indicator of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s legacy in mainstream culture is through the appropriation of the phrase 'Boy's Own' into the English lexicon. Most often it is used to describe an event 'resembling or evocative of a children's adventure story; characterized by daring and heroism; exciting' and is attributed to both fictional tales and true-life accounts.[50]

In a twenty-first century context, the phrase 'Boy's Own' is most popularly used in sporting commentary. In July 2012, *Sunday Telegraph* (London) columnist Jenny McCartney wrote: 'That's the thing about top quality sport: watch it for a

[49] See the following website for examples of Bromley's 'Boy's Own Series': <http://www.studiocraft.com.au/artists/david-bromley/> [accessed 7 December 2015]
[50] 'Boy's Own, adj.', *OED Online* [accessed 21 December 2015]

couple of hours and you start talking like a copy of *The Boy's Own Paper*'.[51] In the same month, an article in *The Times* likened the success of the British cycling team in the 2012 Tour de France to something 'straight out of *The Boy's Own Paper*'.[52] This phrase regularly appears in sports articles, book reviews, and interviews, intimating that the brand of heroism found within the pages of the *Boy's Own Paper* has succeeded in producing an on-going legacy within British social history. In this context, 'Boy's Own' extends beyond the page, becoming a term that absorbs the essence of the Victorian and Edwardian public schoolboy and the heroes of adventure fiction.

The present-day use of 'Boy's Own' also raises issues about the problems associated with distillation, as nostalgia produces an oversimplified view of the *Boy's Own Paper* rather than first-hand knowledge of its content and format. This appropriation of the phrase 'Boy's Own' is evident in academic discourse as well as in popular culture. As previously addressed in this introduction, the limited accessibility to the *Boy's Own Paper* in the past has restricted in-depth textual analysis. In addition, the wide use of the phrase 'Boy's Own' has undoubtedly influenced critical interpretations of the publication, as commentators of nineteenth-century juvenile literature have often relied on a generalised cultural understanding of the adventure fiction associated with the *Boy's Own Paper*. While this has maintained an awareness of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s position in the history of periodical publishing, it has also perpetuated certain stereotypes of the publication without gathering evidence directly from the primary text. This out-dated approach is changing and with the recent digitization of many nineteenth-century periodicals researchers are able to access the material required to make informed arguments based on studying the text. The digitization of the *Boy's Own Paper* has brought the paper into the twenty-first century and seems in keeping with Hutchison's belief in the lasting value of his publication. But more importantly, it confirms the publication's place within the study of nineteenth-

[51] Jenny McCartney, 'Played From the Heart', *The Sunday Telegraph* (London) 29 July 2012, p. 28 <http://www.nexis.com> [accessed 7 January 2016]
[52] Wheatcroft, Geoffrey, 'Cycling and chivalry: a British Boy's Own story', thetimes.co.uk [accessed 2 January 2016]

century periodicals and offers the opportunity for scholars to engage directly with the paper's content, developing new methodological approaches that will aid in examining a style of literature that has influenced our cultural views of the past.

The *Boy's Own Paper*'s recent transition into the digital age makes this project a timely venture. Delivering an overdue in-depth textual analysis of *Boy's Own Paper* literature, this thesis contributes to the growing body of nineteenth-century periodicals scholarship. It examines the ways in which the publication addressed issues of masculinity, morality, and national identity and in doing so reveals ideological tensions surrounding the paper's views on gender, race, and class. In the conclusion of this thesis, I look towards the future of *Boy's Own Paper* research and address the advantages and drawbacks of textual studies in the digital age. I also raise questions considering how the publication's religious and political views differed from those presented in other late nineteenth and early twentieth-century juvenile periodicals. Through its original textual analysis of literature published in the *Boy's Own Paper* during Hutchison's editorship, this thesis provides valuable foundational research from which to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the publication.

Chapter 1
'The Squire of Boyhood': G. A. Hutchison as Editor of the *Boy's Own Paper*

To be a real, true man is the highest ambition that a boy can have, and the first step towards its realisation is to be the right sort of boy.

Rev. E. J. Hardy, *Boy's Own Paper* (1888)[1]

Introduction: G. A. Hutchison and the Religious Tract Society

When George Andrew Hutchison (d. 1913) presented his prototype of the *Boy's Own Paper* to the Religious Tract Society in 1878, his vision was twofold: to appeal to contemporary juvenile readers and to produce a quality publication with timeless appeal. Joel Wiener reminds us: 'Editing is at the core of the Victorian experience. In an age characterized by the proliferation of print, the editor acted as a conduit between text and audience. He communicated ideas and values to a multiple readership.'[2] Hutchison's consistent editorial policies negotiated the demands of Society members and readers. His relentless dedication to maintain a quality publication was evident in his refusal to admit advertisements and publish reprinted material in the pages of the paper. This chapter examines Hutchison's editorial policies and considers the way in which his vision to produce a quality boys' magazine resulted in the production of one of the most successful juvenile periodicals of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It also considers his struggle to distance the *Boy's Own Paper* from the ephemerality associated with periodical publishing and to produce a lasting legacy of masculine literature.

The *Boy's Own Paper*, according to Richard Noakes, 'was unoriginal in attempting to provide children with healthier alternatives to "demoralizing serials" and aimed to achieve its goal by combining elements of several successful juvenile

[1] Rev. E. J. Hardy, 'The Boyhood and Youth of Livingstone', *BOP*, 25 August 1888, p. 762.
[2] Joel H. Wiener, 'Introduction', in *Innovators and Preachers: The Role of the Editor in Victorian England*, ed. by Joel H. Wiener (London: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. xi-xix (pp. xii-xiii).

periodical genres of the mid-Victorian period'.[3] Earlier publications, and particularly Samuel Beeton's *Boy's Own Magazine* (1855-1862), clearly provided a model for the format and content used by the *Boy's Own Paper*. And while Hutchison was not trying to reinvent publishing techniques but rather to build on and refine familiar trends by capitalising on the popularity of the penny weekly, he was able to succeed where previous combatants of sensation fiction had failed. Marjory Lang concludes that Hutchison looked to the 'penny dreadfuls' and 'imitated their appearance, format and even typeset to lure "blood and thunder" addicts'.[4] The resulting production represented a significant departure from the conventional, didactic literature associated with the Religious Tract Society.

Hutchison fought to uphold his publishing formula against the capricious demands of his readers and, more significantly, against the pressures of the RTS to make the paper more religious in tone. When the Society suggested he publish sermons in the *Boy's Own Paper*, Hutchison firmly stated, 'No [. . .] we'll have religion, but we'll have it in solution and not *en bloc*!'.[5] However, as Stephanie Olsen observes: 'It was also important to demonstrate that the papers had the support and cooperation of authority figures like ministers, parents and schoolmasters.'[6] In 1879 *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad* provided a list of 'those who early signified their approval of the Paper'.[7] Amongst those named were the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester, the Earl of Shaftesbury, as well as numerous clergymen and politicians. The need to demonstrate the Society's support certainly impacted the content of the *Boy's Own Paper* to a certain degree. Short ministerial pieces written by Anglican ministers, such as Rev. George Jackson and Rev. Walter Horne's 'Some Manly Words for Boys, by Manly Men' (1897 and 1898) were included. These

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[3] Richard Noakes, 'The *BOP* and Late-Victorian Juvenile Magazines', in *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical: Reading the Magazine of Nature*, ed. by Geoffrey Cantor and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 151-171 (p. 152).
[4] Marjory Lang, 'Childhood's Champions: Mid-Victorian Children's Periodicals and the Critics', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 13 (1980), 17-31 (p. 28).
[5] A. L. Haydon, '"G. A. H.": An Appreciation', *BOP*, 19 April, 1913, p. 459.
[6] Stephanie Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880-1914* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), p. 26.
[7] Anon, 'The Boy's Own Paper', *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, 10 (March 1879), p. 27.

articles discussed general ideas regarding Christian living but avoided setting forth specific denominational beliefs and, for the most part, Christian values were incorporated throughout the publication and not '*en bloc*'.

Despite Hutchison's significant involvement in establishing and producing the *Boy's Own Paper*, his first appointment was as sub-editor. According to Patrick Dunae: 'Hutchison was evidently neither known nor trusted enough for the position, and instead the Sub-Committee [of the Religious Tract Society] chose Dr. Macaulay'.[8] Before deciding to publish the *Boy's Own Paper*, the RTS had already achieved success in the juvenile market, publishing the *Child's Companion and Juvenile Instructor* (1824-1923). Aileen Fyfe writes: 'In the 1840s [. . .] the Society voluntarily and purposefully entered into competition with a larger section of the book trade'.[9] As a publisher, it 'would no longer limit itself to theology, but would publish history, biography, geography, the natural sciences, and almost everything that its competitors were publishing'.[10] This demonstrates the Society's increasing efforts to publish Christian literature that appealed to changing reading trends. However, their publications were still determined by their status as a religious publishing house. By 1878, Macaulay had already been editor of the Society's two successful family magazines, the *Leisure Hour* (1852-1905) and *Sunday at Home* (1854-1940), for twenty years. In her essay on the *Leisure Hour*, Doris Lechner observes, 'The RTS not only tried to battle other secular magazines [. . .] It also had to justify the publication within a contested print genre to its own religious supporters'.[11] The proposal to produce a boys' magazine undoubtedly raised similar issues; thus, naming Macaulay editor of the *Boy's Own Paper* may have been a tactical move used to reassure members that the core objectives of the RTS would be upheld.

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[8] Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', p. 130.
[9] Aileen Fyfe, 'Societies as Publishers: The Religious Tract Society in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Publishing History*, 58 (2005), 5-42 (p. 9).
[10] *Ibid*.
[11] Doris Lechner, 'Serializing the Past in and out of the *Leisure Hour*: Historical Culture and the Negotiation of Media Boundaries', *Mémoires du livre/Studies in Book Culture*, 4 (2013) <http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/1016740ar> (para. 3 of 30).

Even with the need to conform to the principles of the RTS, founders branded the *Boy's Own Paper* as a unique juvenile publication. Dunae writes: 'In order to better capture the general market [. . .] the new magazine was to be published without the colophon of the Religious Tract Society. Instead, the imprint would read simply: "Conducted by the Editor of the 'Leisure Hour'"'.[12] Building on Macaulay's reputation as editor of the *Leisure Hour*, the RTS attempted to set the *Boy's Own Paper* apart from contemporary juvenile weeklies. However, Macaulay's involvement in the *Boy's Own Paper* was limited. In 1883, an extract from his 'Grey Hawk: a Story of Life and Adventure among the Red Indians' was published in the paper, and in 1884 it printed an excerpt of 'From a capital New Book for Boys, "True Tales of Travel and Adventure"'.[13] Both were credited to 'Dr. Macaulay, Editor of the "Leisure Hour"' but neither mentioned his association with the *Boy's Own Paper*, let alone his editorial role. Instead, Hutchison fulfilled all practical editorial functions.

By the time Hutchison was officially named editor of the *Boy's Own Paper* in 1897, he was already well known as the enthusiastic force behind the paper's production. As one Australian journalist observed: 'He cut right across preconceived notions, and appealed to the manly, mirth-loving, adventurous, wholesome boy'.[14] During a time when many weekly magazines struggled to stay in print, the *Boy's Own Paper* achieved economic success by appealing to middle-class families. Once the paper became successful, Hutchison dropped the reference to the *Leisure Hour* and published the paper under its own name. In this way, he distanced the *Boy's Own Paper* from the highly religious material associated with the RTS and created a paper that was recognised in its own right and was associated with a specific style of boys' literature.

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[12] Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', pp. 130-31.
[13] James Macaulay, 'Place of the Two Dead Men', *BOP*, 8 December 1883, p. 158. / 'The Original Robinson Crusoe', *BOP*, 29 November 1884, p. 142.
[14] Anon, 'Literature for the Young: Interview with the Editor of "Boy's Own Paper"', *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill, NSW), 8 May 1912, p. 3 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article45193046> [accessed 21 December 2015]

Hutchison's Editorial Persona

Writing on Hutchison in 1932, Harvey Darton observed:

> He was an ideal editor: unobtrusive – many readers can never really have envisaged him as a person at all – thorough, determined without dogmatism, always alive and keen, and, not a necessary corollary, equably sane. Only those who know the inner workings of any sort of periodical can understand fully what such a character in the editor meant. It meant in practice that the *Boy's Own Paper*, whoever wrote for it, and whatever its 'features' at any one moment, was the *Boy's Own Paper*, and nothing else; just as *The Times* was *The Times*, and the *Spectator* the *Spectator*. It was not a number of lively, competing voices, and it was not a committee meeting of moralists. Its well-rounded policy amounted to a strong compost of varied manliness, and naturalness.[15]

Hutchison's editorial persona is seen most clearly in the correspondence pages of the *Boy's Own Paper*.[16] Jack Cox notes that during 'the first decade the magazine received on average three or four hundred letters a week'.[17] P. V. Bradshaw's cartoon 'The Editor's Dream' portrays this deluge of correspondence. **[Figure 1]** Hutchison is depicted swimming in a sea of letters, alluding to the overwhelming amount of correspondence received at the *Boy's Own Paper* office. Hutchison's arm is outstretched, suggesting openness as well as a plea for help. Most importantly, it personified Hutchison and contributed to an editorial identity that readers would then associate with the *Boy's Own Paper*.

Although Hutchison undoubtedly replied to many of these letters himself, he also delegated work to various members of his staff, including Mrs Hutchison, William John Gordon, and Dr Gordon Stables. An 1881 correspondence column explained their work behind the scenes.

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[15] F. J. Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life*, 3rd ed., revised by Brian Alderson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 299. [First published in 1932.]
[16] For an examination of the *BOP*'s correspondence pages see Stuart Hannabuss, 'Information Clinic: The Correspondence Column of the "Boy's Own Paper" in 1894-5', *Library Review*, 26 (1977), 279-285.
[17] Cox, *Take A Cold Tub*, p. 67.

> The editorial *we* simply means that the opinion is that arrived at by the united wisdom (or the reverse) of the staff of the paper, whose individuality is sunk in that of the editor, he being responsible for all that appears in it.[18]

In many instances, members of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s editorial and writing staff remained anonymous and their significant contributions went unacknowledged. A key example is William John Gordon, who worked on the paper from 1879 to 1933. According to Jack Cox: 'Gordon's main work was rewriting, cutting, subbing, checking, all of which he described as "my work as revisionist especially in the field of fiction".'[19] Gordon's editorial involvement is comparable to Hutchison's, yet most of his work was unsigned and his name is rarely mentioned in discussions of the paper's editorial policies. Laurel Brake, writing about *Blackwood's*, argues that the 'foregrounding of individuals—named contributors—posed a threat to the collective identity of the periodical, an identity fostered by the "house" style, the collective "we", and the circulation of a periodical persona through a sobriquet

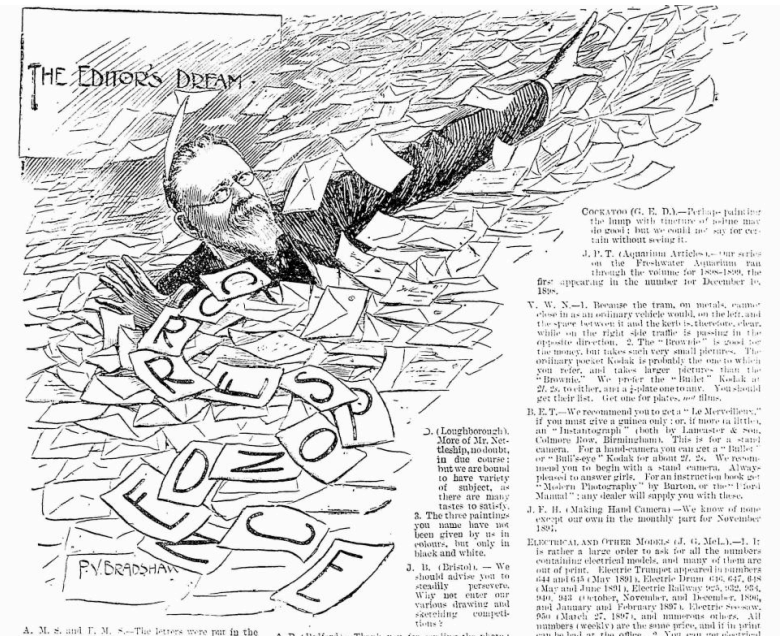

Figure 1: P. V. Bradshaw, 'The Editor's Dream', *BOP*, 24 November 1900, p. 128. © The British Library Board, P.P.5993.u.

[18] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 29 October 1881, pp. 79-80 (p. 79). [original italics]
[19] Cox, *Take A Cold Tub*, p. 26.

such as "Maga"'.[20] In the case of the *Boy's Own Paper*, the image of the 'old editor' was supported by the anonymity of the editorial staff. And, similar to the abbreviation of *Blackwood's*, the branding of the *Boy's Own Paper* as the '*BOP*' implied a familiarity between the publication and its readers.

This familiarity was reinforced throughout the paper through visual representations of Hutchison. From photographs to cartoons, these images uniformly emphasised his distinctive white beard and spectacles, a stylised portrayal that contributed to his editorial persona. As Diana Dixon writes:

> The editor's authority perceptibly changed so that he became a friendly familiar figure rather than the remote and stern authoritarian instructor. This change in editorial attitude reflects the transition from instruction to amusement in juvenile periodicals and is itself an indication of changing attitudes toward children, a recognition that a child was an entity in his own right whose favour had to be courted.[21]

The *Boy's Own Paper* balanced this transition by characterising Hutchison as an 'old boy'. Illustrations such as 'Three Cheers for Good Old "B.O.P.!"' encouraged readers to feel affection for their editor. The cartoon shows Hutchison leaving the *Boy's Own Paper* office where a car and chauffeur are waiting for him. Boys are tipping their hats, waving handkerchiefs, and cheering for the editor of their favourite paper. Here the cheers for the *Boy's Own Paper* and its editor merge, as Hutchison becomes a physical embodiment of his publication. At the conclusion of the nineteenth volume, readers are reminded that the '"B.O.P." still stands quite alone in the powerful artistic and literary attractions, wholesome interest, and *permanent value* of its content; and the old Editor is still at the helm'.[22] Identifying Hutchison as the 'old Editor' reiterated the fond use of 'old boy', establishing a sense of camaraderie and creating a bridge between the editor as an authority figure and his juvenile readers.

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[20] Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition, 1850-1910: Studies in Media and Book History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 16.
[21] Diana Dixon, 'From Instruction to Amusement: Attitudes of Authority in Children's Periodicals Before 1914', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 19 (1986), 63-67 (p. 67).
[22] Anon, 'Home Again! "Three Cheers for Vol. XIX.!"', *BOP*, 25 September 1897, p. 824. [original italics].

The Meaning of Multiple Formats

Under Hutchison, the *Boy's Own Paper* was issued in three forms: weekly instalments, monthly volumes with added colour plate illustrations, and hardback bound annuals. According to Jack Cox, the various editions were meant to appeal to the different classes of readers. He suggests that 'weekly issue was eagerly bought by schoolboys, office boys, apprentices and cadets [while] Family readers subscribed in more dignified style to the monthly'.[23] This hierarchical pattern of consumption reflected Hutchison's own view that the *Boy's Own Paper* was not an ephemeral publication but one that should be preserved. Whereas the weeklies satisfied immediate curiosity, the monthlies and annuals represented a more refined version of reading aimed at middle-class families. Eventually, the *Boy's Own Paper* issued copies of its more popular serialised stories in book format as part of the 'Boy's Own Bookshelf' series. There was also a short-lived offshoot publication entitled *Every Boy's Monthly* (1905-1908) that included serialised fiction that had previously been published in the *Boy's Own Paper*. Hutchison thus anticipated the limitations of weekly publication by publishing his paper in various formats that reinforced its brand.

Throughout the *Boy's Own Paper*, the annual was regularly referred to as a book rather than a periodical; the act of binding the individual issues together made it a complete text rather than a series of instalments. One reader explained that with his mother's approval, he was 'to have the Boy's Own Paper given to me every month, and at the end of the volume the binding will be paid for, *as it is such an interesting book*'.[24] In response to several readers' enquiries regarding the annual, the editor advised: 'There are twelve Monthly Parts in the Annual, and the Annual, bound complete, is sold for seven shillings and sixpence. In every respect it is the best and cheapest boy's book in the market.'[25] In 'Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre', Margaret Beetham notes:

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[23] Cox, *Take A Cold Tub*, p. 22.
[24] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 10 September 1881, pp. 807-808 (p. 807). [original italics]
[25] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 18 November 1882, pp. 111-112 (p. 111).

> The changes of format from serialized to volume novel or from single article to collection are significant because they always signal the rescue of the text. This has two aspects: rescue into the book form, which is physically more stable, and--equally important--rescue from the periodical into a recognized genre: fiction or poetry or essay.[26]

By reissuing the original text in a recognised format (and genre) of fiction or reference material, Hutchison attempted to 'rescue' his weekly periodical from ephemerality.

Not only did the *Boy's Own Paper* issue hardback bound annuals but it also sold the covers to readers who wished to have their weekly or monthly issues bound into a more permanent format. The *Boy's Own Paper* sold the covers at '*2s. Each*', noting that they could *'be obtained through booksellers in the usual way* [. . .] One great advantage of using our covers is that the Annual Volumes then have a uniform appearance on one's bookshelves'.[27] A two-part series by Walter Dexter entitled 'An Inexpensive Way of Binding Books' (1897 and 1898) gave instructions to readers on how to bind their own books or magazines. This was followed up with another article by Dexter on 'A Handy Reading Case and Cover for the "B.O.P."' (1898) for those readers who wanted to keep their magazines in 'a neat-looking volume [. . .] ever ready for reference'.[28] As James Mussell observes: 'The practice of binding issues was well established in the nineteenth century and publishers often capitalized upon readers' desire to keep newspapers and periodicals by issuing the various components required to create the volumes.'[29] This indicates that many nineteenth-century readers sought to collect and preserve what others discarded as ephemeral, a trend that was in keeping with the *Boy's Own Paper*'s own desire to retain long-lasting value. These various bindings transformed temporary issues into permanent books.

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[26] Margaret Beetham, 'Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 22 (1989), 96-100 (p. 97).
[27] Anon, 'Special Notices', *BOP*, 29 September 1894, p. 824. [original italics]
[28] Walter Dexter, 'A Handy Reading Case and Cover for the "B.O.P."', *BOP*, 15 January 1898, pp. 250-251 (p. 251).
[29] James Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2012), p. 33.

Maintaining a consistent layout also contributed to the sense of familiarity projected by the *Boy's Own Paper*. Margaret Beetham writes: 'Every number of the periodical is the same in that it offers its readers a recognizable persona or identity and this is part of the recognizable pattern of contents and lay-out'.[30] For the *Boy's Own Paper* this included Edward Whymper's iconic masthead as well as the paper's dependable content of serialised fiction, articles, editorial columns, and full-page illustrations.[31] Publishing works by popular novelists, illustrators, and sports figures was central to drawing in readers. Many well-known adventure story writers who contributed to the *Boy's Own Paper*, such as R. M. Ballantyne, W. H. G. Kingston, Jules Verne, and G. A. Henty, also contributed to rival juvenile periodicals such as the *Union Jack*, a paper edited by Kingston and Henty. Despite the overlap in contributors, readers were reminded in one editorial announcement 'that the "Boy's Own Paper" has no connection whatever, either through its Editor or otherwise, with any other serial publication issued for boys'.[32] They were also reassured that 'tales by Jules Verne which appear in the Boy's Own Paper are specially translated for it, and are not published in the English language in book or any other form, in this or any other country, until they have been completed in our pages'.[33] Hutchison insisted that the paper only provided new material, not previously published stories.

In response to suggestions from readers that specific articles be reissued in the paper, Hutchison responded, '"What the paper wants" is what was given, then, before you became readers? Do you imagine the old subscribers are to be treated to reprints for the sake of new ones?'.[34] Themes and styles of writing were often repetitive, but the stories and articles were never reprinted under Hutchison's editorship. As Mark Turner notes: 'The natural state of being for periodicals is change and movement, and newspapers and periodicals rely, to a greater or lesser

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[30] Margaret Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical as Publishing Genre', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, and Lionel Madden (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), pp. 19-32 (p. 29).
[31] Whymper was a famous climber who ascended the Matterhorn in 1865.
[32] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 5 November 1892, p. 95.
[33] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 2 December 1882, p. 143.
[34] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 10 November 1883, p. 96.

degree, on the "new" and on the very modern concept of advancement, of moving forward, of futurity'.[35] Hutchison's editorial policy combined the need for perpetual newness with the desire for a dependable, formulaic layout.

Advertising and Revenue

The success of the *Boy's Own Paper* was in part measured by its ability to turn a profit, something that many periodicals at the time struggled to achieve. In March 1879, the *Boy's Own Paper* announced that it was 'a great favourite with the boys of England (aye, and we are receiving orders from the colonies too)' and that it was 'now printing nearly two hundred thousand copies of each number'.[36] There are insufficient records to accurately determine the regional and international sales figures of the *Boy's Own Paper*, a problem encountered by many researchers working with nineteenth-century periodicals. Joel Wiener explains:

> Until the 1890s, sales figures for newspapers were not audited or certified. Therefore, much of the conjecture about the readership of Victorian newspapers cannot be definitively resolved [. . .] Papers frequently made exaggerated claims about their circulation: understandably so, since the financial prizes were considerable – profitable advertising, perhaps even survival if a 'bandwagon' effect could be created.[37]

Those working with the *Boy's Own Paper* face numerous postulations regarding the circulation figures during the time of Hutchison's editorship. According to the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*:

> However, although the Religious Tract Society claimed a circulation of 200,000 copies per week in its first year, rising to 500,000 in the 1890s and even 400,000 during its Edwardian decline, recent scholarship has argued that the paper's true sale may have been considerably lower, perhaps peaking at just 150,000 in 1888.[38]

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[35] Mark Turner, 'Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century', *Media History*, 8 (2002), 183-196 (p. 184).
[36] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 1 March 1879, p. 112.
[37] Joel Wiener, 'Sources for the Study of Newspapers', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, and Lionel Madden (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), pp. 155-165 (pp. 158-59).
[38] Christopher Mark Banham, '*Boy's Own Paper*', in *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Ghent: Academia Press, 2009), pp. 70-71 (p. 71).

The Waterloo Directory lists the *Boy's Own Paper*'s circulation in 1879 at 160,000 per week and then increasing to 500,000 per week. *Boy's Own Paper* historian Patrick Dunae's calculations are considerably higher: 'By the late 1880's the RTS reported that was printing over 500,000 weekly copies; and considering [. . .] that on average two to three boys read each copy, the printing figures would suggest an actual readership of one and one quarter million!'.[39] David Reed contests these figures, considering them 'a disastrous miscalculation of sales'.[40] Instead, Reed estimates 'a print run of an average of 153,000 per week in 1888'.[41]

The value of the paper's content was explicitly identified in the editor's response to an American reader from Louisville, Kentucky:

> We do not admit advertisements and other ephemeral matters into our columns. First, because, however profitable they might be to us, we should not like to deprive our readers of the space they would occupy; and, next, because we wish our paper to possess permanent interest and value. Our annual volumes are really encyclopaedias of valuable information by the very highest authorities in their respective departments of study or research; but how many people care to bind up advertisements or mere newspapers?[42]

This detailed explanation reflected Hutchison's desire to maintain a quality paper free from ephemeral content, and his exclusion of advertisements indicated his desire to maintain the paper's financial independence.

As a publication of the RTS, the *Boy's Own Paper* initially had ample financial funding; however, the paper was still somewhat expensive to produce due to its use of high-quality paper and colour plates as well as its employment of reputable authors and artists on its staff. Throughout Hutchison's editorship, the *Boy's Own Paper* restricted commercial advertising to its cover wrapper, unlike many contemporary magazines that printed advertisements within the pages of their publications. There are still examples of monthly issues bound in an orange cover full of advertisements for Cadbury's, Holloway's Pills and Ointments, John

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[39] Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', pp. 133-34. [Minutes of the Finance Sub-Committee RTS/FSC, 14 March 1888.]
[40] David Reed, *The Popular Magazine in Britain and the United States 1880-1960* (London: The British Library, 1997), p. 86.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 3 September 1881, pp. 791-792 (p. 791).

Piggott's sports equipment, and Pear's Soap.[43] Dunae also observes that 'advertisements were not permitted within the *Boy's Own Paper*'s pages, while those which were carried on the monthly wrappers of the paper were severely restricted to the RTS principles'.[44] These approved companies were most likely selected for their strong business ethics, patriotism, and philanthropic connections.

There were, however, opportunists who tried to capitalise on the *Boy's Own Paper*'s popularity. It was common for 'penny dreadful' publishers to insert loose flyers advertising their own publications into issues of the *Boy's Own Paper* once they had left the publishers. The fact that these flyers were promoting the very thing the *Boy's Own Paper* was fighting against was not warmly received among many readers, or more specifically, the parents of readers. One parent wrote:

> I enclose an advertisement of 'penny dreadful' literature which I found gummed inside the copy of the Boy's Own Paper supplied to my children this week. [. . .] I hope that you may be able to take steps to stop so disgraceful a proceeding in the interest of 'Our Boys'.[45]

The editor regularly addressed those who expressed concern over this potential corruption. He reassured them that '[n]o advertising circulars are in the Boy's Own Paper when sent from the office. The circulars complained of are inserted between the pages by the scamp agents of scamp publishers, who deserve to be prosecuted'.[46] The *Boy's Own Paper* wasted no opportunity to reassure its readers that it was separate and completely different from the publications it considered inferior and corrupting. Edward Salmon, writing on the *Boy's Own Paper*, observed:

> The best testimony to its power and prosperity, however, is the fact that its enemies – the proprietors of penny dreadfuls – try to induce booksellers to

[43] Examples of the monthly issues still bound in the original orange wrappers are available in the Special Collections of the University of Brighton Library. Most of the monthly issues I have accessed have been through purchasing copies from second-hand booksellers. The British Library has several bound *BOP* annuals in which the odd wrapper with advertisements is included.
[44] Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', p. 147.
[45] Letter from Mr. J. H. Elliott of Wandsworth reprinted in 'Our Note Book', *BOP*, 20 January 1883, p. 262.
[46] Anon, 'Correspondence,' *BOP*, 3 May 1879, p. 256.

> insert advertisement slips of their own rubbish into copies sold of *The Boys' Own Paper* [*sic*]. This nuisance has at times been so great that legal action has had to be threatened.[47]

These 'scamps' may have jeopardised the credibility of the *Boy's Own Paper* with their underhanded approach to advertising, but in doing so exhibited that the *Boy's Own Paper* was surviving, and even thriving, in the competitive market of periodical publishing.

The determination to keep the *Boy's Own Paper* advert-free was evident in illustrations, where even artists refrained from using brand names. The only advertising that enters into the *Boy's Own Paper* during the nineteenth century was for the paper itself. For example, the illustration 'Christmas Eve in a London Omnibus' (1880) captures the scene of busy London transport, but the advertisements above the passengers are all generic names for various products. **[Figure 2]** In contrast, the *Boy's Own Paper* and the *Boy's Own Annual* are explicitly advertised, and unlike the other products, their prices are included. The illustrator's choice of location, a London omnibus, situates the *Boy's Own Paper* in a public space and a commercial market where the paper's advertisements are read alongside various other products. Undoubtedly, when sales of the paper waned, the *Boy's Own Paper* increasingly relied on these advertisements, but not to the extent of compromising the content of the paper itself. According to Dunae: 'After the turn of the century [the *Boy's Own Paper*] came to rely on the RTS's financial subsidy, whereas previously it had always made money for the Society'.[48] With the onset of World War I, editorial policies changed considerably and eventually the *Boy's Own Paper* found it necessary to include advertisements on the front cover and within its pages. Adverts for Kodak, Stanley Gibbons, and Raleigh bicycles were featured within the pages of the *Boy's Own Paper*, suggesting that even when the paper was in need of financial support, it limited advertisements to reputable commodities.

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[47] Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is* (London: Henry J. Drane, 1888), pp. 186-187.
[48] Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', p. 151.

Figure 2: W. C. R. B., 'Christmas Eve in a London Omnibus. Good Old Auntie taking home "something for the boys!"', *BOP*, 25 December 1880, p. 208.

One technique the *Boy's Own Paper* employed to increase sales was to encourage readers to purchase the monthly or the annual compilations in addition to the weekly magazine. The various editions were meant to fit the budget of boys regardless of their income. However, one thing Hutchison could not control was the number of readers who subscribed to the publication. As Jack Cox describes, the weeklies were 'read and re-read, passed from hand to hand, loaned out and seized back, until it was grubby and falling apart'.[49] In 1895, with the aim to boost sales, the paper altered the rules of prize competitions so that each competitor was required to include verification of regular subscription to the *Boy's Own Paper*. The modified 'Rules and Conditions' of competitions read: 'All contributions should

[49] Cox, *Take a Cold Tub*, p. 22.

be certified by parent, clergyman, minister, teacher, employer, or other responsible person, as the genuine unaided work *of a regular subscriber to the paper*'.[50] Hutchison explained the reasoning behind this change in policy: 'Since the spread of Public Free Libraries [. . .] the number of our competitors has greatly increased, while our large circulation, which alone enables us to issue such a paper and offer its prizes, etc., is decreased'.[51] He ensured that those who wanted to participate in the prize competitions would have to purchase their own copies.

> No; rules are rules, and must be observed. One copy of the paper means one competitor only, not a family. When, long ago, we admitted exceptions, schools of 200 or 300 scholars would take in perhaps one or two copies for the school library, and then half the school compete. This seemed hardly fair, for admiration alone can keep no magazine going, circulation also being essential; and with such a high-class, unique paper as ours, a very large circulation alone renders it possible for us to issue it. Why do not you and your brothers each take a copy? Even if you do not care each to bind the parts, there must be plenty of poorer neighbours who would gratefully accept them.[52]

Then, if they no longer wished to keep them, Hutchison suggested they should be donated to 'poor lads' or to the London Ragged School Union.[53]

This attempt to encourage readers to purchase their own copies placed a responsibility on middle-class readers to finance the publication through subscription. Yet nothing was mentioned about whether those readers who received the *Boy's Own Paper* through donations were allowed to enter the competitions. There was evidence of lower and working-class prizewinners before the imposed rule on subscription and competition entry. These included winners from the Royal Arsenal, C/O Ironmonger in Great Dunmow, Essex, Reedham Orphanage, Purley, Penzance Union Workhouse and Dr Barnardo's Home, Leopold

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[50] Anon, 'Rules and Conditions', *BOP*, 26 October 1895, p. 61. [original italics]
[51] G. A. Hutchison, 'Our Prize Competitions', *BOP*, 21 March 1896, p. 399.
[52] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 8 November 1902, p. 96.
[53] *Ibid*. [Ragged Schools provided free education for poor and working-class children living in urban communities during the nineteenth century. It was organised by volunteers and funded through philanthropic donations. Lord Shaftesbury was a great supporter of the cause and presided as President of the Ragged School Union for many years.]

House School.[54] The *Boy's Own Paper* took pride in this diverse representation of its readership. In 1879 the paper stated:

> All classes and social conditions were presented among the competitors. Thus the larger public and private schools sent in, Christ's Hospital securing a certificate; and, on the other hand, even the poorhouses gallantly joined in the pleasant contest, one poor metropolitan workhouse lad apologising for the dingy paper on which he wrote, 'as that was the best he could obtain' where he was. One of the training-shops and two orphanages also put forward champions, and though they did not succeed in winning laurels, possibly, as practice tends to make perfect, they may share better next time.[55]

The RTS regularly allocated free copies of the *Boy's Own Paper* to Sunday Schools and missionaries working overseas so access to the publication was made available to British subjects living abroad.[56] However, for the poor and working classes, it would seem that the readers were the recipients of charity rather than of the prizes themselves. Prize-winning entries were donated to charitable organisations such as orphanages and Dr Barnardo's Homes.[57]

During Hutchison's time as editor, the *Boy's Own Paper* underwent very few changes in layout. However, when he replaced Whymper's masthead with a series of new illustrations beginning with the 11 October 1902 issue, he received a barrage of complaints. Hutchison was clearly attempting to modernise the look of the paper in order to attract a new generation of young readers. In a note to correspondents, he defended the paper's decision:

> We have no manner of doubt that many of our 'older readers' prefer the old heading to each weekly number, just as they prefer the old orange-coloured wrapper for the monthly parts. But then you must remember that such a costly magazine to produce as the 'B.O.P.' cannot possibly live by the 'older readers' alone.[58]

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[54] Anon, 'Our Prize Competitions', *BOP*, 15 March 1879, p. 144/ Anon, 'Our Prize Competitions', *BOP*, 3 November 1883, p. 75./ Anon, 'Our Prize Competitions', *BOP*, 9 May 1891, p. 643/ Anon, 'Our Prize Competitions', *BOP*, 7 July 1883, p. 654.
[55] Anon, 'Our Prize Competitions', *BOP*, 30 August 1879, p. 528.
[56] As is seen in a copy of the 1908 *Boy's Own Annual* containing a bookplate from the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School in Whitewell that was awarded to Fred Gardiner as a first prize on 14 February 1909. The edition also included a newspaper clipping in which Fred Gardener [*sic*] was recognized for passing a pianoforte examination. [Private copy]
[57] Anon, 'Our Prize Competitions', *BOP*, 29 March 1884, p. 415.
[58] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 24 January 1903, p. 272.

However, he attempted to appease those who objected to the change by noting that the 'first weekly number of each month will [. . .] still start with the old and ever-popular heading—for "Old Time Sake"'.[59] As indicated in the correspondence columns, grievances about the new masthead came primarily from older readers who viewed the alteration as a precursor to additional changes and a potential move away from the wholesome and entertaining periodical they had invested so much of their time reading and supporting.

True to the paper's title, the *Boy's Own Paper* was intended for a juvenile readership, but as the publication reached its twenty-fifth anniversary, it became evident that its primary readership was aging. The editorial columns were full of testimonials from grown men praising the *Boy's Own Paper* for its high quality. Many of these letters were from fathers who, like the Rev. R. J. Simpson, commended the *Boy's Own Paper* for being 'enjoyed quite as much by myself as by my sons'.[60] Similarly, a 'Well-known Scottish Author' wrote to the *Boy's Own Paper* to say 'I look forward to no paper at present as I do the "B.O.P." I positively devour it'.[61] Including these testimonials not only authenticated parental approval, it also indicated that the publication appealed to middle-class sensibilities. Furthermore, it sent the message that while the publication contained literature chosen specifically to match boyhood hobbies and interests, the overall message of the publication was appropriate for the entire family.

International Appeal

The demand to maintain the traditional style of the *Boy's Own Paper* often came from readers living overseas. From the very beginning, the paper was marketed abroad and it quickly became a staple amongst missionary and colonial readers, signifying a strong association between the *Boy's Own Paper* and a sense of British culture and identity. The 1880s issues of the paper indicate an active readership in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa. Throughout the 1890s, the range of readers expanded to India, Barbados, Egypt, and various European

[59] *Ibid*.
[60] R. J. Simpson, 'Words of Cheer', *BOP*, 10 April 1880, p. 448.
[61] Anon, 'Words of Cheer', *BOP*, 11 January 1896, p. 239.

countries.[62] These foreign and colonial readers were encouraged to participate in the prize competitions. To one reader from Gothenburg, the editor replied, 'Foreign readers of the Boy's Own Paper are eligible for our competitions, but must write in English, and take a chance—a poor one—with our British Boys'.[63] Given the importance of an international readership to the paper's success, it is clear why Hutchison went so as far as to extend the competition closing date for the benefit of readers living abroad.

The popularity of the *Boy's Own Paper* overseas was also confirmed by its treatment within the foreign press. The National Library of Australia has recently digitised a number of national and local papers, which include numerous articles and advertisements indicating the role of the *Boy's Own Paper* in colonial life. The 26 April 1879 issue of the Australian *Cornwall Chronicle* stated, 'The penny dreadfuls will have no chance alongside the *Boy's Own Paper*'.[64] Yet not all reports were glowing. Some critics considered the paper too bulky when bound in annuals. And the *Queenslander*, in its article 'Books for Young People', critiquing both the *Boy's Own Paper* and the *Girl's Own Paper*, concluded that 'the illustrations are poor, but they are marvels of cheapness'.[65] From various advertisements in local papers, it seems that the *Boy's Own Paper* was shipped over in quarterly volumes rather than in weekly or monthly instalments. Readers were apparently required to prepay for individual quarterly issues or for an entire year's subscription. This provided a solution to the problem of how to affordably ship the *Boy's Own Paper* overseas, but would have restricted its market to wealthier readers who could afford the advance payment. In the 15 May 1879 issue of the Australian *Mercury*, one advertisement claimed 'So great has been the demand for the First Part of that Admirable Serial, THE BOYS' OWN PAPER [*sic*], And so may subscribers are waiting for the Second Supply that we determined to save two

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[62] I have determined the nationality of readers by examining the names of prize competition winners and contributors to editorial and correspondence columns.
[63] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 3 November 1883, p. 80.
[64] Anon, 'Editorial', *Cornwall Chronicle* (Tasmania, Australia), 26 April 1879, p. 2 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article66504409> [accessed 21 December 2015]
[65] Anon, 'Books For Young People', *Queenslander* (Brisbane), 16 December 1882, p. 860 http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article19788409 [accessed 21 December 2015]

months by TELEGRAPHING TO LONDON For a largely increased SUPPLY, to commence with the First Part'.[66] The number of copies originally ordered is not indicated, so it is difficult to ascertain the actual value of this demand. There is also the possibility that the advertisement was a marketing strategy for generating interest.

In addition to a growing popularity in the colonies, the *Boy's Own Paper* was also read in the United States. As early as December 1879, the paper advised a reader: 'Many copies are ordered for America, but we do not know where they go'.[67] Later references made of *Boy's Own Paper* in the American media, outside of advertisements, indicated an assimilation of the paper into a wider social discourse. Many newspapers, including those from smaller towns in the United States, reprinted journalistic pieces and illustrations from the *Boy's Own Paper*.[68] Children's libraries, like the one advertised in *The Evening Standard* (Utah), faithfully included the *Boy's Own Paper* in their collections. In *The Omaha Daily Bee*, the Young Men's Christian Association printed a list of the recent additions to their library, which included the *Boy's Own Paper*.[69]

Domestic Distribution

At home, the *Boy's Own Paper* also received endorsements from various educational and religious organisations. *The Ragged School Union Quarterly*, referring to the *Boy's Own Annual* and *Girl's Own Annual*, concluded: '*Ennui* should be a thing of the past to those who consult their pages. In these days of advanced education it is a noble thing to have provided such food for quickened faculties.'[70]

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[66] Anon, 'Advertising', *Mercury* (Tasmania, Australia), 15 May 1879, p. 22 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8976920> [accessed 22 December 2016]
[67] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 27 December 1879, p. 208.
[68] These included: *The Citizen* (Honesdale, PA), *The Colfax Gazette* (Colfax, WA), *The Wichita Daily* (Wichita, KA) and *The Ohio Democrat* (Logan, OH).
[69] Anon, 'Young Men's Christian Association', *Omaha Daily Bee*, 11 October 1891, p. 15 <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn99021999/1891-10-11/ed-1/seq-15/> [accessed 26 January 2015]
[70] Anon, 'Notices of Books', *The Ragged School Union Quarterly Record*, 6 (1881), p. 35 <http://search.proquest.com/docview/3888245?accountid=14182 [accessed 28 March 2012]

They also recommended the paper to parents who wanted to provide their children with good quality writing that their children would benefit from. 'To those who have intelligent children, or wish to make them so' hints at the idea of self-improvement and the significance of self-education in addition to formal education.[71] Clergymen, headmasters, and parents praised this popular form of wholesome literature and Hutchison often included their expressions of appreciation in the *Boy's Own Paper*'s editorial columns. Rev. James Hannington from Hurstpierpoint wrote: 'I cannot refrain from expressing my gratification that your excellent paper has in this parish entirely superseded the baneful literature used to be greatly read by our village boys.'[72] Dr Vernon Ardagh, a medical missionary, wrote to the *Boy's Own Paper* saying that 'bound volumes of the "Boy's Own Paper" will be very welcome, and says that the effort is being made at request of the English-speaking Indians themselves'.[73] *The Times*, in 1910, reported: 'The library of the prison numbers some 3,000 volumes, and among it are [. . .] the *Boy's Own Paper* and the *Strand Magazine*, and other popular periodicals bound up, which pass rapidly from cell to cell'.[74] From overseas missionaries to domestic criminals, it was evident that the *Boy's Own Paper* did reach a wide readership. This was in part because it appealed to the interests of boys and girls, but also because adults approved of its moral instruction.

Female Readers and the *Boy's Own Paper*

The *Boy's Own Paper* was designed specifically with a juvenile male audience in mind but it also appealed to a wider middle-class family audience that included women and girls. While I have not located any evidence within the *Boy's Own Paper* that suggests the publication was altered in any way to appeal to its female readers, the paper did reply to many of their letters through the correspondence

[71] Anon, 'Notices of Books, *The Ragged School Union Quarterly Record*, 7 (1882), 38-40 (p. 39) <http://search.proquest.com/docview/3904050?accountid=14182> [accessed 28 March 2012].
[72] Anon, 'Penny Dreadfuls', *BOP*, 3 April 1880, p. 422.
[73] Anon, 'Our Note Book', *BOP*, 23 December 1893, p. 191.
[74] Anon, 'Prison Life and Administration', *The Times* (London), 1 June 1910, p. 5. *The Times Digital Archive* [accessed 21 December 2015].

pages and regularly awarded them top competition prizes. Furthermore, the paper frequently acknowledged its popularity among female readers:

> Oh, dear no! On the contrary, we are always pleased to give girls advice. We have thousands of girl readers.[75]

> It is really noteworthy the immense number of girl readers the 'B.O.P.' has in all parts of the world. Nearly every post brings us letters from some of them.[76]

> Yes, you are right, we help our girls as well as our boys. We are just as good to our Millies as to our Willies.[77]

These letters were often responded to with a tone of paternal fondness and fostered a gendered opposition between boys and girls that resembled playful sibling rivalry. Defining girls and women in terms of their relationship to boys and men (mothers, sisters, cousins, etc.) justified a female presence in the *Boy's Own Paper*. It also returned the attention back to the original masculine subject of the *Boy's Own Paper*. Deborah Gorham discusses:

> The Victorian idea of feminine girlhood provides one example of the way in which women served as 'looking-glasses' for men. [. . .] As an idea, it reinforced the Victorian conception of masculinity, and helped to maintain the system of dividing the moral, intellectual and emotional universe into separate spheres.[78]

Acceptance of the female reader did not threaten the manly tenor of the paper, rather it reflected traditional gender roles and provided another opportunity to demonstrate the chivalric ideologies it associated with idealised masculinity.

After the initial success of the *Boy's Own Paper*, the RTS issued the *Girl's Own Paper* in 1880. The motivation behind the Society's quick decision to publish a periodical aimed at a female audience was in part determined as Kristine Moruzi argues, by 'the frequency with which girls were reading magazines intended for

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[75] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 14 June 1890, p. 592.
[76] Anon, 'Our Note Book', *BOP*, 17 June 1899, p. 607.
[77] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 28 May 1892, p. 576.
[78] Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (London: Croom Helm, Ltd, 1982), p. 209.

boys, including the RTS' *Boy's Own Paper*'.[79] This suggests that the Society and parents were concerned that an extended exposure to what was considered boys' literature would somehow encourage girls to appropriate masculine behaviour. The *Girl's Own Paper* became a successful publication; however its struggle to identify with a specific female demographic was evident in its attempt to appeal to both girls and women. The *Girl's Own Paper* remained in print until 1908 when it became the *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine*. It then underwent several other title variations until it settled with *Heiress; The Magazine for the Older Girl* (1950-1956). 'From its beginning in January 1880', write Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, 'until its collapse (in the name of *Heiress*) in 1956 the creators of "G.O.P." could never quite decide whether they were writing for girls or women'.[80] More recently Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman have suggested that the '*Girl's Own Paper* heralds the second generation of magazines for young women, now re-defined as girls and appealing not just to a slightly younger age group but also to a time of life, girlhood, not envisaged a generation earlier'.[81] The publication of the *Girl's Own Paper* indicated the recognition of a growing market for female juvenile periodicals, but the series of changes made to the publication's title revealed a more conservative attitude towards girlhood and womanhood in general. So while these readings of the *Girl's Own Paper* appear contradictory, they really point towards wider social anxieties concerning what was acceptable literature for a female audience.

During this time, the market for girls' magazines was limited. As Diana Dixon notes: 'Between 1879 and 1910 under 10 percent of all juvenile periodicals were intended for girls.'[82] From the apparent number of girls who were faithful readers of the *Boy's Own Paper*, it is evident there was still a gap in the market for

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[79] Kristine Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood through the Periodical Press, 1850-1915* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 86. ProQuest ebrary [accessed 21 December 2015]
[80] Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, *You're Such a Brick, Angela!* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1976), p. 73.
[81] Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman, *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 71.
[82] Diana Dixon, 'Children and the Press, 1866-1914', in *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by Michael Harris and Alan Lee (London: Associated University Presses, 1986), pp. 133-148 (p. 138).

girls who wanted the quality of fiction published in the *Boy's Own Paper* and other boys' magazines. Dixon also observes: 'Girls at this period could not retain their youthfulness like their brothers, and where girls' periodicals existed there was always a firm emphasis on homemaking.'[83] In contrast to the domestic themes that permeated girls' periodicals, Sally Mitchell concludes, '[b]oys' fiction gave girls not only stories to read but also situations and characters for their private imaginary experience of boyhood'.[84] In essence, boys' literature provided aspirational fodder for both male and female readers.

Documentation of the developing reading tastes, and of children in particular, became of increasing interest during the later part of the nineteenth century. Edward Salmon's *Juvenile Literature As It Is* (1888) offered insight into the literary preferences of Victorian school children. In the 1880s, Salmon conducted a survey amongst school children in order to determine which authors and periodicals were the most popular among boys and girls. The results indicated that the *Boy's Own Paper* was a favourite amongst both sexes. With ages ranging from 11-19 years old, boys preferred the *Boy's Own Paper* to other magazines. The survey showed that girls named the *Girl's Own Paper* as their periodical of choice, with the *Boy's Own Paper* as their second favourite magazine. The leading authors favoured by the 790 boys questioned were: Charles Dickens, W. H. G. Kingston, Sir Walter Scott, Jules Verne and Captain Marryat.[85] Girls ranked Charles Dickens, Sir Walter Scott, Charles Kingsley, and C. M. Yonge as their favourite authors. The lack in variation between the preferred reading of boys and girls demonstrated that despite the increase in gender-targeted publications, the quality of what was regarded as boys' fiction was considered of a much higher standard. 'People try to make boys' books as exciting and amusing as possible', one girl in the survey responded, 'while we girls, who are much quicker and more imaginative, are very often supposed to read milk-and-watery sorts of stories that we could generally

[83] Dixon, 'Children and the Press', p. 138.
[84] Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England 1880-1915* (Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 115.
[85] Dr G. Stables received only two votes and G. A. Henty only one. Talbot Baines Reed does not appear on the list.

write better ourselves'.[86] The apparent dissatisfaction with the style, content, and quality of specified female literature brought into focus the gender divisions within nineteenth-century juvenile literature. Salmon concluded that 'unless these lists are to be entirely discredited, they must open the eyes of parents to the real needs of our girls'.[87] This study demonstrated that female reading habits were also changing along with gender roles and expectations.

In the same year as Salmon's publication, Charlotte M. Yonge's *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (1888) described the *Boy's Own Paper* as 'Capital, and full of adventurous tales', while she considered that the *Girl's Own Paper* was 'Hardly equal to the Boy's, but very much appreciated by girls in their teens, whose wants it seems to satisfy in a sensible, innocent way'.[88] Kimberly Reynolds observes: 'By 1880 then, girls' books are coming to be seen as those which boys will not read, an important step towards classifying them as works of lower status and so of attributing to girls the need for an inferior literature.'[89] In 1904, *The Daily Mail* (London) ran a series entitled 'What Girls Should Read' and over several months readers sent in their opinions on female reading habits. A twenty-two-year-old woman only read what her mother had first approved. 'Another Girl' included among her favourites: '"The Boy's Own Paper," "Chums," books by the late G.A. Henty, G.M. Fenn, and last, but not least, those by the late Dean Farrar'.[90] Known for their adventure fiction and school stories, these magazines and authors would have been distinctly characterised as boys' literature, once again demonstrating a gendered divide in publishing.

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[86] Salmon, p. 29.
[87] *Ibid*., p. 31.
[88] Charlotte Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (London: National Society's Depository, 1888), p. 109.
[89] Kimberley Reynolds, *Girls Only?: Gender and Popular Children's Fiction in Britain, 1880-1910* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), p. 35.
[90] Anon [Another Girl], 'The Books Girls Read: To the Editor of the "Daily Mail"', *The Daily Mail* (London), 26 October 1904, p. 4. *Daily Mail Historical Archive* [accessed 22 December 2015]

Men also joined in the debate, including the Australian-born journalist and novelist H. B. Marriott Watson.[91] In his 'plea for liberty', Marriott Watson observed:

> Men, as a rule, have a generous and liberal attitude towards girls; it is to their own sex that the daughters owe their control. A man would often be glad to allow his daughter greater license than she has, but the matter rests in the hands of his wife. [92]

His letter concluded with the following advice: 'If men had control of their daughters there would cease to be any difficulty in the question: "What should girls read?" the answer would be: "What their brothers read".'[93] Statements such as this were not uncommon and indicated a reaction against the increasingly rigid gender distinctions promoted in periodical publishing during this period. Despite its objective to appeal to the reading preferences of juvenile boys, the *Boy's Own Paper* also encouraged a female readership. On numerous occasions, the *Boy's Own Paper* reprinted letters from well-respected women who professed to having read the *Boy's Own Paper* when they were young and who approved of girls reading what was traditionally considered male literature. Quoting the Duchess of Sutherland[94]:

> Books for boys appeal to girls because they appeal to boys. Why should courage, resource, and fair play be attributes held up for the admiration of the male sex alone? I spent my pocket money on *The Boy's Own Paper* from the age of six; it gave me an early appreciation of healthy journalism.[95]

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[91] H. B. Marriott Watson was common-law husband of the poet Rosamund Marriott Watson and was a close friend of author J. M. Barrie. He published numerous adventure-style stories.

[92] H. B. Marriott-Watson, 'What Girls Should Read: A Plea for Liberty', *The Daily Mail* (London), 15 March 1904, p. 4. *Daily Mail Historical Archive* [accessed 22 December 2015]

[93] *Ibid*.

[94] Millicent Leveson-Gowe, Duchess of Sutherland (d. 1955), was 'active as a social reformer, earning the nicknames of Democratic Duchess and Meddlesome Millie'. See Denis Stuart, 'Millicent Fanny Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, Duchess of Sutherland (1867–1955)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40794> [accessed 18 July 2015]

[95] Anon, 'Our Note Book', *BOP*, 28 June 1902, p. 623.

And Mrs Lanyon wrote into the *Boy's Own Paper*, confessing: 'For ordinary books for girls I cared nothing. By all means let girls read boys' books.'[96]

The only noticeable contention regarding female readers in the *Boy's Own Paper* was in regards to the prize competitions. Initially, the *Boy's Own Paper* clearly stated that 'girls may compete for the Prize Essay Competitions'.[97] In response to a letter from a 'Thankful Mother', the *Boy's Own Paper* replied: 'The paper is, of course, primarily intended for boys, but surely no lad would be so ungallant as to object to the stimulating rivalry of a pretty sister or cousin'.[98] Once the *Girl's Own Paper* became available, the *Boy's Own Paper* implemented a stricter policy on female involvement in the paper. In 1883 readers were advised: 'Boys only are now allowed to go in for our prize competitions. Girls have a paper of their own, and can join in competitions in connection with it. Boys are forbidden to compete for the prizes offered by the "Girl's Own".'[99] The paper later withdrew its policy excluding female readers from prize completions, informing readers that 'any girl who takes in the "B. O. P." can enter our competitions'.[100] The *Boy's Own Paper*'s decision to require proof of regular subscription to enter prize competitions was a rule most certainly devised in order to bolster sales. Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston observe:

> With boys reading the *Girl's Own Paper* and girls reading the *Boy's Own Paper*, deconstructing the very binaries that such magazines apparently work so hard to reinforce, we are reminded that whilst periodicals invariably had an ideological agenda, they were also commercial undertakings that were obliged to turn a profit.[101]

Therefore, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s change in policy allowing girls to participate in these competitions was in part due to financial necessity. At the end of the century, girls were regularly the winners of *Boy's Own Paper* prize competitions, evidence that female readers were willing to pay for a regular subscription.

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[96] Mrs Lanyon quoted in Anon, 'Words of Cheer', *BOP*, 13 September 1902, p. 800.
[97] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 15 November 1879, p. 112.
[98] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 22 March 1879, p. 160.
[99] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 10 February 1883, p. 320.
[100] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 12 December 1896, p. 176.
[101] Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 66.

The policies regarding male participation in the *Girl's Own Paper* were much stricter and at no time were boys permitted to take part in the *Girl's Own Paper* prize competitions. 'Write to the editor of the *Boy's Own Paper*' was the standard reply given to boys writing into the *Girl's Own Paper*.[102] Other responses clearly indicated a firm opinion that male readers were not welcomed. 'How dare you write to us about the enamel paint?', the editor replied to one male reader, 'Write to your own magazine, *The Boy's Own Paper*. We delight in affording pleasure and benefit of the fair sex only'.[103] Again, the female reader was relegated to the role of the pretty maiden, reinforcing the gender divide wedged between the two publications. Yet, several years later, the *Girl's Own Paper* published an article by S. (Sophia) F. (Frances) A. (Anne) Caulfield entitled 'Etiquette for "Our Brothers"' (1882). The article opened:

> It is a source of much satisfaction to the Editor of THE GIRL'S OWN PAPER, and no less so to the members of his staff, to find that the magazine has proved acceptable to the brothers of our girls. We feel proud of the approbation, and in return desire to offer a few words for their special benefit.[104]

At first glance, this article appears to acknowledge that boys were reading the *Girl's Own Paper*. However, the real message conveyed suggests an inherent necessity to validate the *Girl's Own Paper* according to male standards of approval.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the various editorial challenges Hutchison faced while working on the *Boy's Own Paper*. His vision to produce a paper that appealed to British boys from all walks of life was ambitious, but also flawed. Based on the evidence above, donations of the publication to Sunday schools and philanthropic organisations, such as Dr Barnardo's Homes, meant that boys from the lower classes would have had access to the *Boy's Own Paper*. For the readers who could not afford to purchase their own issues of the publication, their contact with the

[102] Anon, 'Answers to Correspondents', *GOP*, 29 March 1884, p. 414.
[103] Anon, 'Answers to Correspondents', *GOP*, 2 October 1880, p. 14.
[104] S. F. A. Caulfeild, 'Etiquette for "Our Brothers"', *GOP*, 4 November 1882, p. 74.

paper would have been irregular. This suggests that their engagement with certain aspects of the text, such as lengthy serialised stories, would have been interrupted. Furthermore, as seen in the study of the publication's rules for *Boy's Own Paper* prize competitions, only paying subscribers were eligible to compete. This meant readers who accessed the publication through second-hand copies were excluded from participating. While the *Boy's Own Paper* appeared to make efforts to include lower-class boys, its reliance on the regular subscriptions of middle-class readers as a means of financial support increasingly widened the gap between the intended juvenile boy reader and what appears to be a middle-class family readership. In the following chapters, this middle-class perspective is further evidenced in its attitudes towards the working class and the perpetuation of an idealised hierarchical class structure.

The *Boy's Own Paper*'s suggested international readership also indicates a possible departure from the paper's original target audience. As briefly discussed above, the *Boy's Own Paper* was portrayed as being widely received in the English-speaking colonies. In this way, the paper conveyed British cultural attitudes to a growing colonial readership. Furthermore, the publication's emphasis on the relationship between boyhood, masculinity, and colonialism supported Imperialist ideologies. In this way, as Chapter 4 will discuss, the publication both reflected and informed British attitudes towards colonialism.

The popularity of the *Boy's Own Paper* with female readers further challenged the issue of an intended readership. The concurrent publication of the *Girl's Own Paper* indicated an attempt to produce gender-specific literature that both guided and appealed the interests of male and female juvenile readers. The active interest expressed by female readers, even following the production of the *Girl's Own Paper*, required the *Boy's Own Paper* to readjust its expectations of readership. Chapter 5 will discuss the *Boy's Own Paper*'s attitude towards women contributors and treatment of female characters. However, the paper's acceptance of female readers does not seem to have influenced the publication's content apart from allowing girls to participate in the prize competitions.

Overall, the publication's popularity with international and female readers demonstrated the impossibility of maintaining a publication that was age and gender specific. This is a particularly important point to remember when considering the paper's portrayal of masculinity and gender roles in general as the masculine prototype presented in the *Boy's Own Paper* not only influenced juvenile boys; it informed a generation of middle-class and colonial readers' opinions of appropriate gender roles.

Chapter 2
The *Puer Aeternus* and a New Chivalric Order: Public Schoolboys and Sportsmen

> But one certainty is that the boys' hero must be manly, and he must have the courage which we associate with manliness. At the same time he must not be too perfect creature, because then he is above the average human boy, who is apt to regard him as a prig or a saint.

G. A. Hutchison, *The Book Monthly* (1909)[1]

> The Duke of Wellington said Waterloo was won on the playground of Eton – that is to say, the character of the leaders of that great battle were formed in their school days. Truthfulness, purity, courage, and generosity were qualities that went farthest in making what was called a leader among schoolboys.

Anon, *Boy's Own Paper* (1881)[2]

> Even on the field of sport, chivalry is not dead.

Thomas C. Collings, *Boy's Own Paper* (1898)[3]

Introduction

In 1904, the *Boy's Own Paper* reprinted a short article previously published in the magazine *American Boy* (1899-1941). The author had recently visited London and met with fellow editors of boys' magazines, including Hutchison. He observed:

> Englishmen remain boys longer than Americans do. Generally speaking, every man on the island of Great Britain, no matter how old he is, loves sport [. . .] if you want a country where boys keep on being boys in heart and nature a long, long time, go over to our mother country.[4]

Masculine ideals were in transition during the latter part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century. Boys were admired for their bravery and

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[1] G. A. Hutchison quoted in James Milne, 'What Boys Read: A Talk with the Editor of the "Boy's Own Paper"', *The Book Monthly*, 6 (Jan 1909), pp. 249-252 (p. 251).
[2] Anon, 'A Bishop on Schoolboys', *BOP*, 1 January 1881, p. 219.
[3] Thomas C. Collings, 'The Cambridge Captain on "How to Become an Amateur Cricketer"', *BOP*, 24 September 1898, pp. 818-819 (p. 819).
[4] Anon, 'English v. American Boys', *BOP*, 21 May 1904, p. 544.

pluck and grown men were trying to retain these idealised qualities of Victorian childhood. The *Boy's Own Paper* captured the spirit of the *puer aeternus*, meaning the eternal boy, most clearly through its portrayal of the public schoolboy and the sportsman. They were idealised for their shared ethos of chivalry and the *Boy's Own Paper* depicted them as the archetypal British hero-figure. This chapter examines how the *Boy's Own Paper*'s heroisation of the public schoolboy and the athlete drew on nineteenth-century romanticised views of medieval chivalry, making them modern-day exemplars of an inherited British code of morality and masculinity.

The first half of this chapter considers how the genre of public school stories contributed to the growing mythology of the public schoolboy as heroic prototype of British manliness that all boys, regardless of class, were encouraged to emulate. Central to this study are the works of Talbot Baines Reed, whose greatest contributions to the *Boy's Own Paper* were his public school stories. Not only did they set the tone for subsequent school fiction published in the *Boy's Own Paper*, they also influenced the genre as a whole. Frank Eyre observes that Reed 'brought the type to a perfection of unreality that later writers could only copy'.[5] The majority of Reed's stories were situated within the insular world of a fictitious public school, an environment that appeared to be unaffected by external events. This chapter looks specifically at his Parkhurst series (1879-1881) and his serialised story 'The Fifth Form at St. Dominic's' (1881-1882) as they encapsulate the themes and language Reed employed to create his utopian vision of the public school.

There were other, less flattering, depictions of public school life published in the *Boy's Own Paper*. Ascott R. Hope's 'Miss Molly Mick Mac' (1886) and T. S. Millington's 'Some of Our Fellows: A School Story' (1879-1880) are just two examples of texts that offered a different angle on public school culture than that proffered in Reed's fiction. Both stories address the threat of the social and foreign

[5] Frank Eyre, *British Children's Books in the Twentieth Century* (London: Longman, 1971), p. 82.

outsiders within the elite environment of the public school. They also include aspects of hierarchical bullying symptomatic of the public school fagging system.

The second half of this chapter studies the *Boy's Own Paper*'s representation of the sporting hero. As Roberta Park writes: 'The athlete literally *embodied* power and prowess and provided the icon which could serve as a model for other young men – even those relegated to the role of spectator'.[6] The recurring depiction of masculine behaviour through textual and visual representations of the athlete within the *Boy's Own Paper* promoted an elevated status of physical masculinity associated with 'muscular Christianity'. Each issue contained at least one article that encouraged various forms of physical exercise, and both amateur and professional sports heroes were celebrated in its pages. This chapter studies the *Boy's Own Paper*'s publication of articles by leading sports figures including the cricketer W. G. Grace and Rugby captain Dr Robert Irvine. Robert MacDonald, writing on nineteenth-century boys' magazines, observes: 'They pursued the cult of athleticism supported by the public schools, and in the space they devoted to teams, statistics and coaching, they did much to make the cult dominant.'[7] Numerous stories and articles on public school sports were printed, often including full-page illustrations and photographs of players. Many of these were closely linked with the religious, educational, and military duties commonly associated with a British imperialist agenda that reinforced patriotic sentiment and responsibility.

'Chivalry of To-day'

Many of the Christ-like qualities applauded within the *Boy's Own Paper* overlapped with the romanticised imagery of the medieval knight. Together their message to the young male reader was one of virtue, honour, and moral responsibility to

[6] Roberta Park, 'Biological thought, athletics and the formation of a "man of character": 1830-1900', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24 (2007), 1543-1569 (p. 1556).
[7] Robert MacDonald, 'Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy: From Purity to Patriotism in the Boys' Magazines, 1892-1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 24 (1989), 519-539 (p. 520).

protect those considered vulnerable. Robert Richardson's poem 'The Chivalry of To-Day' (1879) encapsulates this ideology by using the image of King Arthur as a symbol of traditional manliness and bravery:

> Gone the tournament, ne'er to return, Jack,
> But if you've the wish and the will
> You may emulate Arthur, and learn, Jack,
> To be knightly and chivalrous still.
> To worthily play your part, lad,
> Whatever the crisis be,
> With a brave yet *gentle* heart, lad,
> Is the essence of chivalry.[8]

Addressed to Jack, a name attributed to the common man, the poem charges all boys, regardless of class, to take a chivalric oath of bravery and manliness. Writing on the Victorian medieval revival, James Mangan observes:

> There was also the elaboration of a code of behaviour for life – the reformulation of the image of the gentleman as the idealised medieval knight, embodiment of the virtues of bravery, loyalty, courtesy, generosity, modesty, purity and compassion and endowed with an indelible sense of *noblesse oblige* towards women, children and social inferiors.[9]

J. G. Small's poem 'Gentle-manliness' (1886) reiterates these standards in the opening stanza: 'Be a gentle-manly boy, /Gently speak to sis and mother; /Manfully thy strength employ, /To protect thy little brother'.[10] By hyphenating the word gentlemanly, Small commissions his male reader to appropriate the qualities of a gentleman by being 'gentle' towards those in need of protection, in this case younger children and women. Chapter 5 will consider the *Boy's Own Paper*'s treatment of women in further detail, but it is important to acknowledge here that the paper communicated specific gender roles and expectations by representing women as vulnerable and men as protectors.

The romanticised image of the medieval knight as a symbol of virtue and heroism was a popular motif used within Victorian art and literature and was seen clearly in the works of, among others, the Pre-Raphaelite movement, Sir Walter

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[8] Robert Richardson, 'The Chivalry of To-day', *BOP*, 2 August 1879, p. 455.
[9] J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. xxii.
[10] J. G. Small, 'Gentle-manliness', *BOP*, 6 February 1886, p. 294.

Scott, and Alfred Lord Tennyson. 'One of Scott's greatest achievements', Mark Girouard claims, 'was to bring chivalry up to date, and popularise a type of character which could reasonably be called chivalrous, but was acceptable as a model both by himself and his contemporaries'.[11] Later nineteenth-century writers of historical romances, inspired by Scott, employed imagery associated with the chivalric knight to develop a contemporary masculine hero-figure that echoed an inherited national legacy. Authors such as Kingsley and Hughes, as Vance observes, 'tried to make manliness an up-to-date practical ethic for everyman, supplanting the old aristocratic ideal of chivalry but retaining something of its glamour and moral grandeur'.[12] Alluding to Edmund Burke's 1790 declaration that 'the age of chivalry is gone',[13] Kingsley succinctly expressed the resurgence of chivalric ideology in his address to Queen Victoria, stating: 'The age of chivalry is never past'.[14]

Chivalric metaphors were commonly used in the *Boy's Own Paper* to elicit a nostalgic admiration for the highly idealised knight. Paul Blake's '"The 'Revenge": A True Story of 1591' (1883) is just one of the numerous examples in which the past was employed to discuss contemporary issues. 'Many of you have read Kingsley's *Westward Ho*', Blake wrote, 'a marvellous story reproducing English life and manners in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and enabling modern readers to understand something of the spirit which made men leave pleasant England, to go and fight the Spaniard and seek new fields for English trade'.[15] In drawing parallels between the Elizabethan knight and the Victorian gentleman, Blake advocated imperial expansion of British territory during the reign of Queen Victoria. He also presented military action as an inherited responsibility and, therefore, warranted the deployment of the nation's young men overseas. Looking

[11] Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 262.
[12] Vance, *The Sinews*, p. 7.
[13] Edmund Burke quoted in Mark Girouard, 'A Return to Camelot', *The Wilson Quarterly*, 5 (1981), 178-189 (p. 180).
[14] Charles Kingsley quoted in Girouard, p. 130.
[15] Paul Blake, '"The 'Revenge": A True Story of 1591', *BOP*, 20 January 1883, p. 266.

to the past, the romanticism associated with chivalry enforced the masculine principles that the modern Victorian man strove to obtain.

Robert J. Kirkpatrick considers this return to chivalry as a transition from Christian manliness to a more secular definition of similar values. He argues:

> Religion began to be usurped by the more subtle and more digestible public school code which had its roots in the founding of the Empire and which embraced chivalry, manliness, honesty, loyalty and sportsmanship – basic Christian tenets but put across in a rather more secular light.[16]

The *Boy's Own Paper* published articles that described various aspects of the medieval knight such as the proceedings of a tournament and the different types of armoury they used. The image of the knight was used prolifically throughout the paper, ranging from colour plate illustrations of St George painted in the style of the Pre-Raphaelites (1904) to a modern-day reimagining that depicted knights jousting on bicycles (1882). The chivalric ideal also served as a metaphor for masculinity and the athletic public schoolboy for the reimagined knight. As Mangan writes: 'The public schools were an integral part of the nineteenth-century revival of chivalry'.[17] This is clearly evident in the *Boy's Own Paper*'s representations of the public schoolboy, athlete, and chivalric knight. The discourse of chivalry was employed to authenticate the legacy of the knight and subsequently validate a British military heritage. It also provided a vocabulary that could be applied to describe the actions of contemporary hero-figures.

Talbot Baines Reed: Utopian Visions of the British Public School

When ideologies associated with 'muscular Christianity' did appear in the *Boy's Own Paper* it was in keeping with the ideologies of Kingsley's fellow advocate, Thomas Hughes. His glorification of the public schoolboy in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) appears to have directly influenced the genre of public school

[16] Robert J. Kirkpatrick, 'Different Schools: Other Stories for Boys', in *From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worrals of the WAAF: The Religious Tract Society, Lutterworth Press and Children's Literature*, ed. by Dennis Butts and Pat Garret (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2006), pp. 145-161 (p. 150).
[17] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. xxi.

story popularised by the *Boy's Own Paper*. The similarities are most evident in the life and writings of Talbot Baines Reed (d. 1893). Jeffery Richards observes that Reed 'shared with Hughes the singular characteristic of remaining a lifelong boy'.[18] Hutchison described Reed as 'to the last a real boy amongst boys' and that 'His heart remained young despite the burden incident to manhood.'[19] Reed contributed to his cousin's publication, the *Leeds Mercury* (1718-1939), and was an active participant in the construction and popularisation of the *Boy's Own Paper*. Richards considers: 'Reed was the best kind of Victorian, a man of high principle, enormous industry, strong social conscience, earnest endeavour and a robust sense of humour. His friend John Sime called him "the very best ideal of a chivalrous English gentleman"'.[20] Reed's religious and social commitments were evident in his writing and through his involvement with the *Boy's Own Paper*. In a letter to Hutchison, Reed wrote:

> I can assure you I always try to fall in with the spirit of the 'B.O.P.', which is far and away the manliest and healthiest boy's paper I know. Its great strength seems to me to lie in its high moral and religious tone being attained without any undue 'lugging-in'.[21]

In this way, Reed's literary contributions to the *Boy's Own Paper* gave voice to Hutchison's editorial vision of producing a wholesome and entertaining publication.

Reed's Parkhurst series exemplified the prominent position awarded public school fiction and sports within the *Boy's Own Paper*.[22] Each of the six short stories featured on the front cover of the paper (apart from the final instalment). They all

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[18] Jeffrey Richards, *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 108. [Richard's chapter 'The Perfection of the Formula: *The Fifth Form at St Dominic's*' gives a detailed plot breakdown.]
[19] G. Andrew Hutchison, 'Introductory Sketch: The Late Talbot Baines Reed, as Boy and Man', in *A Book of Short Stories* by Talbot Baines Reed (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1901), pp. 9-26 (p. 26).
[20] Richards, *Happiest Days*, p. 14.
[21] Talbot Baines Reed quoted in G. A. Hutchison, 'The Late Mr. Talbot Baines Reed', *BOP*, 3 March 1894, pp. 346-347 (p. 346).
[22] 'The Parkhurst Paper-Chase' (March, 1879), 'The Parkhurst Boatrace' (May, 1879), 'Parkhurst V. Westfield' (June, 1879), 'A Boating Adventure at Parkhurst' (August, 1879), '"Fivers" Versus "Sixers" at Parkhurst" (August, 1880), and 'The Battle of Parkhurst Heath' (January, 1881).

focused on life at the fictitious public school of Parkhurst, which involved a range of athletic pursuits that included rugby, cricket, boating and swimming. 'My First Football Match' (1879), opened the first issue of the *Boy's Own Paper* and clearly followed in the tradition of Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays.* Both were originally published under the moniker of 'An Old Boy' and both emphasised the importance of athleticism within a public school setting. The story is told from the perspective of Adams, who recounts his first time playing for the Parkhurst school rugby team. This is a momentous occasion in Adams's public school career: 'To be one of the picked "fifteen", whose glory it was to fight the battles of their school in the Great Close, had been the leading ambition in my life [. . .] ever since [. . .] I entered Parkhurst six years ago'.[23] Being selected to play for the school team is a rite of passage and signifies a crucial transition between spectator and participant, from boy to man. The use of military imagery heightens the sense of masculine achievement.

Descriptions of public school sporting events in the *Boy's Own Paper* often employed military tropes, likening the rules of sports and athletics with battlefield tactics. Alice Jane Mackay and Pat Thane observe: 'The public school and the game of rugby football are tokens of Englishness, and, as in so many school stories [. . .] the implication is that the courage required on the field of play is one of the same order as that which may later be required of a boy on the field of battle'.[24] Adams continues his battle analogy, further developing the association between public school, sports, and the military.

> An officer in the Crimean War once described his sensation in some of the battles there as precisely similar to those he had experienced when a boy on the football field at Rugby. I can appreciate the comparison, for one. Certainly never soldier [*sic*] went into action with a more solemn do-or-die feeling than that with which I took my place on the field that afternoon.[25]

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[23] Talbot Baines Reed, 'My First Football Match', *BOP*, 18 January 1879, pp. 1-3 (p. 1).
[24] Alice Jane Mackay and Pat Thane, 'The Englishwoman', in *Englishness: Politics, and Culture 1880-1920*, ed. by Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, 2nd edn (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), pp. 217-254 (p. 221).
[25] 'My First Football Match', p. 2.

This juxtaposition situates public school sports within a military tradition, and the language of warfare becomes the common parlance between man and boy. In this instance, the rugby field can be read as a domestic military training ground. John Springhall explains: 'The public schools were regarded by the middle-class public as character building institutions and the manly characters which they shaped on the playing field and elsewhere were popularly believed to account for Britain's ability to administer and defend an ever-expanding Empire.'[26] In the *Boy's Own Paper*, the glorification of the public schoolboy as an athlete was also the celebration of the British military hero. Through the detailed descriptions of sporting events, as depicted in Reed's fiction, the successes on the playing field constructed confidence in future national military victories. Adams's final play of the game results 'in a glorious victory for the Old School' and secures his place in the ranks of the Parkhurst rugby side.[27]

Although the *Boy's Own Paper*, during Hutchison's editorship, did not publish many articles that openly addressed specific contemporary political and military campaigns it did look towards British history to engage with current events. Joseph Bristow observes: 'Reed's fiction acknowledges that the mid-1850s established the beginning of a new type of public-school ideology, one connected with war, honor, and above all, doing well on the playing field.'[28] Published during the time of the First Boer War (1880-1881), Reed's 'The Battle of Parkhurst Heath' (1881) is set several decades earlier during the time of the Crimean War (1853-1856). The story focuses on a group of schoolboys who decide to enact the Crimean War.

> It was in the year 1854 that a war fever broke out at Parkhurst [. . .] We kept the Union Jack up, day and night, wet or dry, over the cricket tent; we called our opponents in every match we played, Russians; we whistled 'Rule Britannia' till our cheeks were nearly in holes.[29]

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[26] Springhall, 'Building Character', p. 66.
[27] 'My First Football Match', p. 3.
[28] Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: Harper Collins, 1991), p. 57.
[29] Talbot Baines Reed, 'The Battle of Parkhurst Heath', *BOP*, 8 January 1881, pp. 241-242 (p. 241).

Here the playing field and battlefield merge as the boys transfer their energies from cricket games to military re-enactments. This 'war fever' suggests an uncontrollable 'state of intense nervous excitement' that must run its course.[30] As a result, the schoolboys split into two camps, obtain uniforms, gather sticks to use as guns, undergo routine drills, and schedule a battle. Reed's representations of duty, honour, strategic manoeuvring, and physical strength were portrayed as universal qualities that placed the Victorian man and boy within a 'manly' tradition. Graham Dawson writes:

> Boys' play, in the era of popular imperialism, was one of the wide range of cultural practices that provided an entry into the colonial imaginaries. As such, commercially produced children's culture participated in that wider cultural project which overtly set out to inculcate in boys the desirable subjectivities of imperialist patriotism and moral manhood.[31]

For the fictional boys in Reed's story, play meant performing renditions of contemporary military combat. Reed's reworking of traditional values into the freshly formed hero-figure of the public schoolboy created a style of literature that crossed the divide between the child's fantasy and adult nostalgia. And it was through historical fantasy and pageantry that Reed bridged the gap between the past and present.

'The Fifth Form at St. Dominic's: A Public School Story' was Reed's most influential contribution and it has been recognised for setting the standard of the public school fiction within the *Boy's Own Paper*.[32] T. S. Eliot referred to it as 'a classic of schoolboy fiction' while numerous reprints and adaptations have made it one of the more popularly and critically discussed examples of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s serialised fiction.[33] In his preface to the 1890 book edition of *The Fifth Form at St. Dominic's*, Hutchison explained why he considered the story to have such a wide appeal. 'Though the story is one of school life', Hutchison observed,

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[30] 'war, n. 1', *OED Online* [accessed 23 March 2015]
[31] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 235.
[32] The story remained popular well into the twentieth century. It was made into a film in 1921 and then later adapted as a four part TV series broadcast on the BBC in 1961. 'Children's Hour' produced a radio version of story in 1947.
[33] T. S. Eliot, *What is a Classic* (London: Faber and Faber, 1945), p. 8.

'its interest is by no means limited to school or college walls. Boys of all sorts of conditions – ay, and their parents too – will follow its fortunes with unflagging zest from the first page to the last'.[34] He continued: 'These boys of Saint Dominic's, even the best of them, are very human [. . .] work-a-day lads [. . .] but also with that moral grit and downright honesty of purpose that are still, we believe, the distinguishing mark of the true British public–school boy'.[35] This 'distinguishing mark' of the public schoolboy's character, like a birthmark, indicated an inherited national identity that served as a manly role model for boys of all classes. John Sime, in his preface to Reed's *Kilgorman: A Story of Ireland in 1798* (1894), described the fundamental qualities of Reed's characters: 'His boy-heroes are neither prigs nor milk-sops, but in their strength and weakness they are the stuff which ultimately makes our best citizens and fathers; they are the boys who, later in life, with healthy minds in healthy bodies, have made the British Empire what it is'.[36] Reed's fiction was situated somewhere between entertainment and instruction just as his characters straddled the line between boyhood and manhood.

The public schoolboy in Reed's fiction was presented as a figure of admiration and emulation. Bristow suggests: 'From *Tom Brown* onwards, the educated male turned into a much more admirable and moral hero – the kind of man all boys (regardless of class) could try to be.'[37] These seemingly well-rounded characters represented a universal prototype of British manliness and, as a result, they were often indistinguishable, built on a model that often resulted in the creation of one-dimensional characters. Hutchison was of the opinion that 'Every reader must feel that these boys at least are no more pasteboard figures,

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[34] G. A. Hutchison, 'Prefatory Note', in *The Fifth Form at Saint Dominic's* by Talbot Baines Reed (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1890), pp. 5-8 (p. 5).
[35] *Ibid*.
[36] John Sime, 'In Memoriam', in *Kilgorman: A Story of Ireland in 1798* by Talbot Baines Reed (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1906), pp. pp. vi-xxiv (p. viii). The *OED* defines 'prig' as: 'a conceited or self-important and didactic person'. 'Milksop' is defined as: 'A feeble, timid, or ineffectual person, *esp.* a man or boy who is indecisive, effeminate, or lacking in courage'. *OED Online* [accessed 7 August 2014].
[37] Bristow, p. 58.

manipulated for a given purpose by the writer; but healthy flesh-and-blood lads'.[38] However, more often than not they fit into Claudia Nelson's following definition.

> The stereotype of the 'ideal' Victorian boy is both familiar and unmistakable; an amalgam of the cricketing schoolboys of *The Boy's Own Paper* and the military prodigies of G. A. Henty, he is characterized by his frank and merry eye, his sturdy frame, his plucky attitude, and above all his manliness.[39]

Most of Reed's stories were situated in a fictional public school setting and followed a similar plotline that invariably included detailed accounts of cricket, rugby, or football matches. Yet, it always seemed to surprise readers and critics that Reed's fiction was not based on personal experience. Hutchison noted:

> It was a curious thing that, though he [Reed] never went to a great public school like Rugby or Harrow, and was educated at the City of London School, he contributed the best public school stories that have ever appeared in the 'Boy's Own Paper'.[40]

Reed's fiction placed the public school on an ideological high ground that matched the reader's expectations of public school life. Reed's fiction may not have been an accurate description of nineteenth-century public school life but what it did indicate was the growing mythology developing around the public schoolboy. Helen A. Fairlie observes that 'the mythic portrayal of public schools became ever more accepted as "real". Readers, who for the most part were unlikely ever to set foot inside a public school, were happy to take this generalised view of school for granted'.[41] What Reed offered was an idealised image of the 'public school' environment that readers could admire.

The plot of 'The Fifth Form at St. Dominic's' centres on two brothers, Stephen and Oliver Greenfield, who provide a 'before-and-after' image of public school life. Stephen's propensity to unwittingly get into trouble typifies the naivety of youth and accentuates his need for moral guidance. Oliver, on the other

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[38] G. A. Hutchison, 'Prefatory Note', in *The Adventures of a Three Guinea Watch* by Talbot Baines Reed (London: The Office of the 'Boy's Own Paper', 1883), pp. 5-6 (p. 5).
[39] Claudia Nelson, 'Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness and Sexuality in Victorian Literature for Boys', *Victorian Studies*, 32 (1989), 525-550 (p. 525).
[40] Anon, 'Literature for the Young', p. 3.
[41] Helen A. Fairlie, *Revaluing British Boys' Story Papers, 1918*-1939 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 68.

hand, exemplifies the manly hero who is determined to uphold his Christian values despite moments of unpopularity with his schoolmates. The reader is introduced to Stephen as he begins his journey to join his brother at St. Dominic's, 'leaving his widowed mother to return [home] lonely and sorrowful', their father having died when they were small children.[42] As Stephen's journey takes him further away from home and closer to his new school he experiences a combination of anxiety and excitement. And while he tries to appear brave to his fellow passengers, he is also momentarily overcome by his emotions.

> It is decidedly awkward to get dust in your eye when you want to figure as a hero, for the eyes will water, and must be wiped, and that looks particularly like weeping. Stephen refrained from using his handkerchief as long as he could; but it was no use; he must wipe his eye in the presence of his fellow-passengers [. . .] it was no use trying to appear heroic any longer, so, what with pain and a dawning sense of loneliness and home-sickness, Stephen shed a few real tears into his handkerchief, an indulgence which did him good in every way, for it not only relieved his drooping spirits, but washed that wretched piece of dust fairly out of its hiding-place.[43]

This episode marks the beginning of Stephen's journey away from the feminised domestic sphere of his mother's home to the masculine, homosocial world of the public school.

The act of leaving the domestic home became a rite of passage, a trope commonly used within nineteenth-century juvenile literature to signify the beginning of that momentous change from boy to man. Herbert Sussman discusses the shift within British nineteenth-century masculine culture:

> With the Victorians' increasingly sharp gender distinctions, the need to reject the female values of youth, to leave the feminized home, became more acute. Furthermore, there was no longer a single homogeneous ideal of male identity, no longer one, but a number of competing constructions of manliness to choose among. In a society of increasing class mobility, one no

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[42] Talbot Baines Reed, 'The Fifth Form at St. Dominic's: A Public School Story', *BOP*, 8 October 1881, pp. 17-19 (p. 17). [The first instalment of the series is entitled 'The Fifth Form of St. Dominic's', however, the remainder of the series is 'The Fifth Form at St. Dominic's'.]
[43] *Ibid*., p. 18.

> longer simply adopted the masculine style of one's father. And there was no single public ritual making the passage to manhood.[44]

Through its publication of public school stories, the *Boy's Own Paper* created its own version of a shared 'public ritual'. The coming-of-age story removed the adolescent boy from the domestic sphere, placing him in a predominantly male environment and thus providing him with the necessary masculine instruction to help him transition between boyhood and manhood. In this way, according to Kirkpatrick:

> [Reed] emphasised the organisation of the large boarding school, with its houses and sporting teams, with relationships between boys largely defined by their individual places within the school or house. The problems which arose between boys or within the social structure of the school were overcome using a morality based almost solely upon schoolboy culture and values, consistent with Christian values but fairly thickly disguised.[45]

The homosocial culture became an intrinsic feature of schoolboy culture, advancing even further the insular elitism associated with public schools. 'Homosocial', as Jean Lipman-Blumen defines it, 'is the seeking, enjoyment, and/or preference for the company of the same sex. It is distinguished from "homosexual" in that it does not *necessarily* involve (although it may under certain circumstances) an explicitly erotic sexual interaction between members of the same sex'.[46] Based on Lipman-Blumen's definition of 'homosocial', the *Boy's Own Paper* presented the all-male environment of the public school as a natural state of existence and central to masculine development.

The initial anxiety of leaving home, as seen in Stephen's journey to St. Dominic's, is soon replaced by the need to fit into the homosocial environment of the public school. Stephen's homesickness is relieved by the excitement of a cricket match: 'Stephen [. . .] could think of nothing but cricket [. . .] he even began to forget that he was a new boy, and was surprised to find himself holding familiar

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[44] Herbert Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 46.
[45] Kirkpatrick, 'Different Schools', p. 151.
[46] Jean Lipman-Blumen, 'Toward a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Explanation of the Sex Segregation of Social Institutions', *Signs*, 1 (1976), 15-31 (p. 16). [original italics]

converse with one and another of his companions'.[47] Cricket provides Stephen with an entry into the school community. Cheering along with the other boys on the sidelines demonstrates the ease with which he falls into his new role as a fourth former at St. Dominic's.

The increasing association between public school and sport reflected a growing interest in enhancing physical fitness and instilling healthy values. Springhall writes: 'Once the public schools came to be regarded as hothouses for breeding manliness and as playing games came to be a unique aspect of the British public school system, then it was natural that games and manliness would become synonymous'.[48] Sportsmanship promoted fitness and strategy, teaching young men how to work in close physical proximity with each other, valuable attributes for a military environment. The boarding school existence conditioned young men to prefer the company of other men and, as John Tosh writes, 'the public schools, in short, had become adept at producing men for imperial service'.[49] Popular public school sports, such as rugby, cricket, and football, most certainly enhanced physical fitness and taught important teamwork skills. Team sports within Reed's fiction also functioned as common ground, where boys of all ages came together to socialise and where older boys instructed the younger boys.

Stephen's entrance into life at St. Dominic's is fairly uneventful. He is described as 'not a very clever boy, or a very dashing boy, and yet he somehow managed to get his footing among comrades in the Fourth Junior'.[50] Edward Blishen neatly sums up the structure of 'Fifth Form':

> There are the almost-men, the Sixth, apprentice authorities, monitors, curiously vulnerable to satire: and Reed's own favourites, the almost-almost-men, the Fifth, who have feelings about their seniors that are those of creatures on the brink of the same thrilling importance, but who in the moment before they inherit are able to draw on a sort of responsible insubordination, a last flicker of anarchic junior selves. And the actual juniors, the small boys, are seen by Reed in terms of the Tadpoles and

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[47] 'Fifth Form', 22 October 1881, pp. 49-51 (p. 49).
[48] Springhall, 'Building Character', p. 66.
[49] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005), p. 198.
[50] 'Fifth Form', 3 December 1881, pp. 153-155, (p. 153).

> Guinea-Pigs into which the youngest Dominicans divide. *They* quite clearly fascinate Reed. He dwells on their inkiness, on their being 'small animals', and especially on the arbitrary fashion in which they align themselves with one group or another of their seniors.[51]

Hierarchical structures within St. Dominic's reflect a system of self-ruling, with the characters more concerned with meeting the codes of conduct determined by their peers rather than their masters. Thus their hierarchical system within the school represents the position of power they will inherit. The school's headmaster, Doctor Senior, endorses this structure, stating: 'Boys will be boys! [. . .] We have no right to interfere with these boyish freaks, as long as they are not mischievous. But you might keep your eye on the little comedy, Jellicott. It would be a pity for it to go too far'.[52] The schoolboys may appear to have free run of the school and to exercise their own judicial system, yet, when the fourth formers decide to rebel against the fifth and sixth formers by refusing to carry out their fagging duties, Doctor Senior intervenes.

Whereas Doctor Senior previously gave the boys space to challenge the system as part of their individual manly development, when the boys band together he reminds them he is in control. Even his name, 'Doctor' and 'Senior', indicates his authority within the public school hierarchy. Upon restoring order, he advises the young rebels:

> Don't be silly as well as dunces [. . .] If you try, and work hard, and stick like men to your lessons, you will know more than you do now; and when you do know more you will see that the best way for little boys to get on is not by giving themselves ridiculous airs, but by doing their duty steadily in class, and living at peace with one another, and submitting quietly to the discipline of the school.[53]

By calling Stephen and his classmates 'little boys', Dr Senior emphasises their immaturity and negates their protests for self-determination. In crushing the fourth former's rebellion, the Doctor represents the underlying authoritarian presence within the text. Jenny Holt reads this episode as another example of how

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[51] Edward Blishen, '*Fifth Form at St Dominic's*: A Rereading', *Children's Literature in Education*, 12 (1981), 103-112 (p. 106).
[52] 'Fifth Form', 22 April 1882, pp. 481-483 (p. 482).
[53] 'Fifth Form', 28 January 1882, pp. 281-283 (p. 283).

the characters 'are merely required to conform to a pre-determined status quo'.[54] In this sense, the autonomy the boys appear to have is merely a perpetuation of an upper-class sense of entitlement to rule the rest of society. While the boys are given a certain amount of autonomy, this episode clearly demonstrates, those in charge are also carefully guiding them.

Stephen's education at St. Dominic's extends past the classroom. He is also developing his values and learning how to determine what is right, what is manly. The message is that the decisions that he makes during his time at school will shape his future. When Stephen arrives at St. Dominic's he is naïve and easily influenced. There are two characters that have a significant influence on Stephen's development. The first is his older brother, Oliver, of whom 'Some say he has a temper, and others that he is selfish; and generally he is not the most popular boy in Saint Dominic's'.[55] Oliver is the story's true hero as he exhibits a manly strength that has its foundations in his Christian convictions. He testifies to his close friend, 'I'd sooner pass as a coward than set up as a saint when I'm not one. Why [. . .] I've been a worse Christian since I began to try to be one, than I ever was before'.[56] Throughout the text, Oliver faces numerous obstacles that challenge his Christian beliefs. However, he remains determined to uphold his principles even at the expense of his reputation amongst his peers. The major test of his manliness occurs when he is awarded the coveted Nightingale Scholarship. His peers wrongly accuse him of cheating on the exam, and he suffers 'banishment from civilised society' for his refusal to respond to the allegations.[57] As Tosh observes:

> Instead of being guided by the opinion of others, the serious Christian was urged to listen only to the inward monitor of conscience, and to appear to the world as he really was. If this gave him authority, it was genuine authority from within, instead of the counterfeit currency of reputation.[58]

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[54] Jenny Holt, *Public School Literature, Civic Education and the Politics of Male Adolescence* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008), p. 151.
[55] 'Fifth Form', 1 October 1881, pp. 1-3 (p. 2).
[56] 'Fifth Form', 14 January 1882, pp. 249-251 (p. 250).
[57] 'Fifth Form', 15 April 1882, pp. 465-467 (p. 466).
[58] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 74.

In the same way, Oliver forgoes immediate popularity in order to maintain true to himself.

The second character who directly influences Stephen is Loman, a sixth former for whom Stephen fags. Loman (low man) is a boy who 'rarely quarrelled or interfered with any one, and he had been known to do more than one good-natured act [. . .] never made any very great friends at Saint Dominic's'.[59] Although not a conventional bully figure, Loman does find himself getting into serious trouble. It begins with his buying a fishing rod from the local pub landlord, Mr Cripps, on credit. As the story progresses, he spends more time in the company of Mr Cripps and his cronies drinking, gambling, and accruing substantial debt. Instead of seeking help from his parents, or the headmaster, Loman struggles to keep on top of his repayments and looks towards the Nightingale Scholarship as a source of financial relief but, despite cheating on the exam, he loses out to Oliver.

Loman and Oliver are two sides to the same coin; both are good at sports, both apply for the coveted Nightingale Scholarship, both are at times treated as outsiders. Yet, when they are faced with similar challenges their motivations are entirely different. Their stories foreshadow the possible outcome of Stephen's future, for during his time at St. Dominic's Stephen makes decisions that will determine what kind of man he will become. In summary, Loman is revealed as the cheat and Oliver's reputation is restored. Loman moves to Australia, echoing the route of the convicted criminal, to learn self-discipline and pay off his debts. Finally, Stephen's successful transformation from a boy into a man is evident in the final chapter. Reed gives the reader a glimpse of Stephen as a sixth former: 'He is a big fellow, is the captain, and has got a moustache'.[60] It is evident that Stephen has followed in Oliver's footsteps, becoming the captain of the cricket team, and learning the true meaning of manliness.

[59] 'Fifth Form', 5 November 1881, pp. 81-83 (p. 81).
[60] 'Fifth Form', 24 June 1882, pp. 623-624, (p. 623).

Ascott R. Hope and T. S. Millington: Utopian Discord

Not all accounts of public school life focused on the same the moral ideologies delivered in Reed's fiction. Robert Hope Moncrieff, who wrote for the *Boy's Own Paper* under the pseudonym of Ascott R. Hope, was another prolific contributor to the magazine. His work often depicted public school scenes and his focus was often on the hardships faced by schoolboys at the hand of their masters and peers. Dunae observes: 'Talbot Baines Reed and Robert Hope Moncrieff were principally responsible for the many school stories which appeared in the *Boy's Own Paper* from 1880 to the turn of the present [twentieth] century'.[61] Whereas 'Reed [. . .] felt committed to the evangelical principles of the RTS [and] the public schools', Hope 'was critical of the educational vogues – notably the emphasis which the schools placed upon muscular Christianity and the proliferation of "manly," cane-wielding, cricket-playing, assistant masters'.[62] Hope's four-part series 'Old School-Days' (1897) examined the bullying and pranking endemic to early and mid-nineteenth century public school culture, drawing on the recollections of former pupils as evidence. An 'old Etonian' recounted how pupils 'underwent humiliations that might have broken down a cabin-boy, and would have been thought inhuman if inflicted on a galley-slave'.[63] Likening the public schoolboy's treatment to that of a cabin boy or a galley slave indicated the severity of the boys' treatment, but their ability to endure it indicated the kind of strength in character that was able to overcome adversity.

In 1854, *Punch* published a short article on the 'Bullying at Public Schools', in which it recounted an incident involving a group of Harrovians.

> It is a monstrous hoax to talk of the moral tone of a school in which eight or nine youths could stand by, without interfering to prevent an act of malicious cruelty practiced by a boy in the higher form upon a boy beneath him, and indeed the truth is, that the brutality of some of the schoolboys engenders cowardice in the others.[64]

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[61] Patrick Dunae, *British Juvenile Literature in an Age of Empire: 1880-1914* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Victoria University of Manchester, 1975), p. 317.
[62] *Ibid*.
[63] Ascott R. Hope, 'Old School-Days', *BOP*, 27 February 1897, pp. 343-344 (p. 344).
[64] Anon, 'Bullying at Public Schools', *Punch*, 18 March 1854, p. 107. *Punch Historical Archive* [accessed 21 December 2015]

This specific event resulted in a public debate about the positives and negatives of the fagging system within public schools. One 'Rugboean' writing to *The Times* explained the necessity of fagging.

> Every one knows that the system of fagging is of very old standing in public schools. It was the practice for many generations at Eton, Winchester, Harrow, and Rugby for the highest form or forms to command at their will the services of the lower boys. There is no doubt that this power was often grossly abused. It was defended, and could only be defended, on the ground that in a large number of boys some would, from the very nature of things, use their strength to oppress, or, at any rate, enforce their supremacy over those weaker than themselves; and it was better that this power should be in the hands of a recognized body, who owed their position in the school to industry and talent, than those who might have no other qualifications than those of personal strength or overbearing character.[65]

This assumption that a masculine environment would naturally be ruled by force made fagging appear to be the lesser of two evils. This argument justified the fundamental need of an organised jurisdiction within public schools by placing that responsibility in the hands of the pupils rather than the masters or the public.

Hope challenged the belief that fagging was a positive means of student autonomy with the schools, writing:

> It is often said that at public schools small boys were protected from oppression by the regulated system known as fagging, the big boy giving protection and counsel in return for the small boy's servitude [. . .] Even if the fagging system were all that is claimed for it, there must be set off against this tradition of organised bullying which we have seen practiced.[66]

Hope's series provided first-hand accounts of the extreme physical hardship pupils of public schools were subjected to earlier in the century. These testimonies contrasted with the *Boy's Own Paper*'s own portrayal of the glorified public schoolboy. His evaluation suggested that despite the value attributed to a hierarchical form of governance, fagging was merely an institutionalised version of the bullying witnessed earlier in the century. However, his critique of the public school system, albeit one attributed to a bygone era, was softened by his return to

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[65] Anon, 'The Fagging And Monitorial Systems', *The Times*, 15 April 1854, p. 10. *The Times Digital Archive* [accessed 21 December 2015]
[66] 'Old School-Days', 3 April 1897, pp. 429-431 (p. 430).

the accepted notion that strength in character was the key to resilience and that if anyone could endure hardship it was the British boy. Hope concluded:

> It is not a bad thing for a boy to learn to bear blows and bruises without making a fuss; and British youth is so tempered as not to find intolerable evil in physical pain. Tom Brown was in the right of it to glorify the satisfaction of 'standing out against something, and not giving in.' Boyhood has a blessed elasticity that does not long keep the impression of hard hands.[67]

In contrast to Hope's reservations, the author of 'Our Great Public Schools: Harrow' (1885) applauded the public school fagging system. 'Fagging, against which so much has been said and written,' he wrote, 'is, in my opinion, one of the most splendid institutions ever devised at the public school when properly controlled and carried out – mind, I mean controlled by the boys themselves, not by the masters'.[68] Despite the negative press that Harrow received in the 1850s about the bullying that fagging promoted, the article's full support for the system was in keeping with the 'old boy' etiquette. C. E. Johnson's series 'Letters to Schoolboys' (1893) addressed various perceptions of what 'public school' signified in a more informal style and tried to dispel myths by providing useful tips for readers who may be about to experience public school for the first time. He reassured readers: 'Now that bullying has gone so much out of fashion, there are not, after all, very many perils to be encountered, beyond a little inevitable "greening," and perhaps a little mild teasing'.[69] In his criticism of the harsh treatment of public schoolboys in the past, Hope also suggested that '[p]erhaps our rising generation is inclined to be a little too tender of its skin'.[70] The underlying concern was that overprotective intervention on the behalf of schoolboys would produce a generation of effeminate men unable to stand their ground or, in the future, the 'ground' of the nation.

These tensions were included in Hope's fiction where he focused more on the pranks and bullying of public school life than on the manly heroism displayed on the playing field. His two-part story 'Miss Molly Mick Mac' centres on the

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[67] 'Old School-Days', 27 February 1897, p. 344.
[68] Anon, 'Our Great Public Schools: Harrow', *BOP*, 31 October 1885, pp. 77-78 (p. 77).
[69] C. E. Johnstone, 'Letters to Schoolboys', *BOP*, 29 April 1893, pp. 490-491 (p. 491).
[70] 'Old School-Days', 20 March 1897, pp. 391-392 (p. 391).

difficulties of Scottish Malcolm Michael Macgregor, a new boy who is bullied by his English schoolmates.

> [H]e came to school softer and shier than most girls are at his age [. . .] He blushed when he was spoken to by a master; he trembled when he was scolded, he cried when he was punished; and a hard word from anybody would at all times be enough to make him turn tail or hang his head like a poppy in the wind. Miss Molly, for all his swash-buckling, fire-eating ancestry, was a coward as well as a weakling.[71]

Macgregor is immediately given the name 'Miss Molly', a term that labels him as effeminate, which is one of the greatest threats to manliness addressed in school fiction. The fear of effeminacy goes back to Tom Brown, who worries that 'this new boy [Arthur] would most likely never go out of the close, and would be afraid of wet feet, and always getting laughed at, and called Molly, or Jenny, or some derogatory feminine name'.[72] Macgregor suffers this type of bullying and is made fun of for his lack of physical strength and ability. The narrator describes him as 'unusually timid' and that to their 'Saxon prejudices that kilt of his suggested nothing so much as a petticoat'.[73] Being different, both in nationality and in dress, sets him apart from the rest of the school and by naming him 'Molly' and calling his masculinity into question, the boys remove any threat this outsider might bring.

Malcolm attempts to fit in 'and though he soon got rid of the kilt and sporran, his new trousers did not bring him any more manliness'.[74] Eventually, he is given an opportunity to redeem himself through an act of selfless bravery. Jones, the chief administrator of harassment, falls from the pier into the sea fully clothed and having knocked his head on his way down is at risk of drowning. While the rest of the boys deliberate over what to do, Macgregor jumps in and rescues his persecutor.

> And now it appeared that our nervous friend had not read the BOY'S OWN PAPER for nothing. He had turned up Jones on his back quite scientifically, and was taking care not to be clasped and dragged down, as drowning

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[71] Ascott R. Hope, 'Miss Molly Mick Mac', *BOP*, 24 July 1886, pp. 681-682 (p. 681).
[72] Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays & Tom Brown at Oxford* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2007), p. 146.
[73] 'Miss Molly', 24 July 1886, p. 681.
[74] *Ibid*.

> people are apt to do for their would-be preservers, though in this case he need not have been so particular, since his stunned school-fellow seemed not to have a kick left in him.[75]

Here the *Boy's Own Paper* sets the standards of masculinity by establishing itself as an authority within the text and as a source of practical information. 'Macgregor came back to school quite a hero in some way [and] our friend Mick Mac, [was] no longer to be called Miss Molly'.[76] Malcolm's demonstration of bravery redeems him in the eyes of his peers, making the story another testimony to physical manliness. Perhaps more significantly, Malcolm's transformation emphasises the need to conform to social expectations. Malcolm is only able to defend his masculinity, and subsequently regain his name, through the display of physical heroism.

The tensions of national identity within the public school are also found in T. S. Millington's 'Some of Our Fellows: A School Story' (1879-1880). Published in the *Boy's Own Paper* around the same time as Reed's 'Parkhurst' series (though they were never published within the same issue), 'Some of Our Fellows' combines elements of Reed's and Hope's fiction, including both the admiration of the schoolboy sports hero and concerns over foreign influences.[77] The story is told from the perspective of Frederick Jackinson, a pupil at Nether Cray, a fictional school where the majority of the story takes place. While Nether Cray is not identified as a public school, Jackinson describes it as 'a very good one' and that while 'They talk a great deal about Eton and Harrow, and what they call "the nine;" [. . .] our school is as good as any of them in its way'.[78] The reference to the 'Great Nine'[79] acknowledges the elitism associated with the traditional public schools. Jackinson's demonstration of school loyalty to Nether Cray, however, indicates that the new public and grammar schools established in the mid and late-nineteenth

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[75] 'Miss Molly', 31 July 1886, pp. 691-692 (p. 691).
[76] *Ibid*.
[77] Millington also contributed 'Our Holiday Tramp' (1880), 'My Grandfather's Ghost-Story' (1880), 'Through Fire and through Water: A Story of Adventure and Peril' (1882), and 'The Great Mistake: A Story of Adventure' (1885-86).
[78] T. S. Millington, 'Some of Our Fellows: A School Story', *BOP*, 8 November 1879, pp. 86-88 (p. 86).
[79] The 'Great Nine' public schools were comprised of: Winchester, Eton, St. Paul's, Shrewsbury, Westminster, Merchant Taylors', Rugby, Harrow, and Charterhouse.

century were modelled on the values associated with the leading public schools. The incorporation of a public school ethos is further demonstrated in the narrator's short rhyme: 'Frederick Jackinson is my name, /Great Britain is my nation; /And Nether Cray is a jolly place, /For cricket and education'.[80] Fred identifies himself through the collective image of the school, emphasising the significance placed upon education, sport, and national identity.

The school spirit and national pride portrayed so clearly in Fred are challenged by the foreign presence of two European boys within the quintessentially 'English' environment of Nether Cray. The negative typecasting of Pierre Le Brun and Meyer threatens and reinforces the superiority of an English masculine identity. A more in-depth study of the treatment of the foreign Other will be provided in Chapter 4, but it is important to consider here the way in which foreign stereotypes were represented within a domestic setting. Meyer, who is not given a first name in the story, is the school's bully and poses the most obvious threat to the English values upheld by the school.[81] He is described as a 'German, a sort of half-pupil [who] had to talk German with the boys and read to them'.[82] Generally disliked by the students because he was neither student nor teacher, he is called derogatory names such as 'a pig, a sausage, a rhinoceros'.[83] As half student/ half teacher he is branded an outsider and has no real purpose within the school. And as a German, he is characterised by his farcical accent and his bullish, brutish behaviour. What sets him apart the most is his unwillingness to conform to the school's values. Fred declares: 'Rule Britannia – God save the Queen – Home sweet Home – "them's my sentiments;" and all the boys at our school were of the same opinion, except Meyer'.[84] Rather than attempting to integrate into the school's culture, Meyer continually boasts of Germany's superiority over English traditions, a heresy that poses the greatest threat to the school.

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[80] 'Some of Our Fellows', 8 November 1879, p. 86.
[81] The choice of name is interesting as, at this time, the *BOP* was publishing games and articles by H. F. L. Meyer, a well-known German chess game composer.
[82] 'Some of Our Fellows', 29 November 1879, pp. 134-136 (p. 135).
[83] 'Some of Our Fellows', 6 December 1879, pp. 150-152 (p. 152).
[84] 'Some of Our Fellows', 10 January 1880, pp. 230-232 (pp. 230-231).

His time at Nether Cray concludes when he instigates a duel between two pupils even though by this time duelling 'was but a relict of the barbarous ages' and an illegal sport in Britain.[85] When the boys gather together for the planned duel, Meyer is almost euphoric in his apparent success in pitting two English boys against each other. He rants:

> You poor fritened Englishmans; I shame of you both. I shame of your customs. I shame of dis school and all belonging to it. I shall tell dis to my broders and my friends at home. We shall laugh; we shall laugh; oh yes, we shall laugh when I say it?[86]

In insulting the English schoolboy's bravery, Meyer challenges English masculine and military strength. While duelling had been outlawed in the Britain in the 1840s, during this time Germany still maintained the tradition. George L. Mosse explains that 'Elite student fraternities made duelling compulsory [. . .] partly because it cemented their camaraderie and, not least, because it made them into an elite in comparison to their fellow students'.[87] Meyer's effort to organise a duel, therefore, signals an attempt to infiltrate England with German traditions. When the schoolmaster discovers a duel had been arranged he chastises Meyer: 'There are many things in your country which are well worthy of our imitation [. . .] duelling is not one of them. I did not bring you here to introduce such customs'.[88] Using an illegal sport to resolve a dispute within the school threatened the English values of honour and fair play that sit at the core of the public school culture. 'Soon after that Meyer disappeared from the school, and we never heard any more from him.'[89] Meyer's German patriotism poses a danger and he must, therefore, be removed.

The story's second, and more involved, foreign character is Pierre Le Brun (who is renamed Johnny), a young French boy is taken into the care of the town's doctor after being rescued from a shipwreck which has left him with severe

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[85] 'Some of Our Fellows', 24 January 1880, pp. 262-264 (p. 263).
[86] *Ibid*.
[87] George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 20.
[88] 'Some of Our Fellows', 31 January 1880, pp. 278-279 (p. 278).
[89] *Ibid*., p. 279.

memory loss. Pierre is described as: 'Slightly built, pale, with bright, dark eyes, hair long and rough, long eyelashes, thin bloodless lips, and a strange weird expression of countenance'.[90] Or, as the doctor's housekeeper simply put it, 'He don't look healthy [. . .] Those foreigners seldom do'.[91] Both accounts of his physical appearance suggest Pierre cuts a frail and slightly effeminate figure. The doctor sends him to study at Nether Cray so that he may be in the company of his peers. However, after a dramatic episode at the school in which Pierre is blamed for cutting the rigging on the school's flagstaff, the doctor and schoolmaster decide that it would be beneficial to place Pierre in the care of Fred's mother.

> A mother's care and affection were what he wanted most, and he had them to perfection at Oldingham [. . .] He has begun to grow quite fat and round – not like a Frenchman at all. His nose is not nearly so long as it was, and his eyes don't look so large and strange and staring. He is to come back to Nether Cray after next holidays, and Dr. Hartshorne thinks he will be as sharp as any one. He may, perhaps, even make a pretty good cricketer with practice, though that is hardly to be expected.[92]

Pierre's story is one of a cultural rebirth as his true identity and history are wiped clean. Living in an English home and nurtured by an English mother, he is transformed from a weak foreigner into a strong, intelligent English boy.

There is only one area in which Pierre's French origins are not forgotten -- cricket. Earlier in the story, Fred observes:

> You may, of course, educate the eye, and improve it by practice, but you can't bring it up to what it ought to be for a good batter, unless it is, as I may say, to the manner born. Cricket is just like poetry for that – a man must be born with a talent for it.[93]

Jackinson's reservations over Pierre's ability to fully integrate into the life of an English boy resides in the belief that cricket is an inherited skill that cannot be learned. The presence of foreign characters within the public school environment reduces the masculine threat of the foreign by accentuating the femininity of the French boy and the brutality of the German boy.

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[90] 'Some of Our Fellows', 8 November 1879, p. 87.
[91] 'Some of Our Fellows', 15 November 1879, pp. 102-104 (p. 103).
[92] 'Some of Our Fellows', 17 April 1880, pp. 454-456 (p. 455).
[93] 'Some of Our Fellows', 27 December 1879, pp. 202-204 (p. 202).

Sport and How to Excel at it

Loyalty was a crucial element in maintaining the camaraderie of public school. This was highlighted in further detail in the 'Our Great Public Schools' article on Winchester in which the author explains: 'Up to quite recent times the College boys were required, as soon as they attained their fifteenth year, to take an oath that they would reveal nothing that had passed within the College walls, as well as to uphold and defend it if it ever should require their help'.[94] The tradition of taking a formal oath in the school's chapel may have ended by the 1880s, but the bonds created in these institutions were still strong.

George Wade's 1905 article on 'Some Heroes of the Public Schools' focused on the increasing military role played by former public schoolboys.[95] This portrayed the schoolboy as both the adolescent hero of the playing fields and the soldier heroes of the battlefields. It also called upon the classical ideals and positioned the public school hero amongst history's greats:

> Nobody appreciates a noble deed, a courageous act, or self-sacrificing heroism more than the ordinary British public-school boy. The glamour of it, the true spirit of devotion so much praised by the old writers of Rome and Greece, appeal peculiarly to him as he hears or reads stories of latter-day heroes, which prove conclusively, as the poet sings, that 'the ancient spirit is not dead'. And nobody is readier than the schoolboy to do true and lasting honour to such noble heroes who have sprung from his own ranks.[96]

Wade's use of patriotic language produced a sentimental and inspiring portrait of the public schoolboy. Bristow writes: 'in the world of *B.O.P.*, because boys are identified not so much with but rather as the nation, they are in effect being entreated to fight for themselves. That is, they are the England they should be

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[94] Anon, 'Our Great Public Schools: Winchester', *BOP*, 9 January 1886, pp. 235-236 (p. 235).
[95] Wade wrote numerous articles for the *Boy's Own Paper*, most of them celebrating public schools and their achievements. These included: 'One of the Most Glorious Deeds Ever Done By A Boy' (1905), 'Prime Ministers at School' (1904), and 'The Oldest School in the Kingdom' (1905).
[96] George Wade, 'Some Heroes of the Public Schools', *BOP*, 14 January 1905, pp. 254-255 (p. 254).

fighting for'.[97] With this argument, the Victorian individual became essential to the imperial collective.

> Cheltenham has its memorial records on the arches in the chapel at the famous school; Dulwich honours Keating and other old boys who fell in West Africa; Fettes and Wellington also contain memorials of the youths who died bravely in all parts of the world, tablets that often simply recording that 'They did their duty well'. Ay, that they did – as the true British schoolboy always does, either in peace or war.[98]

These monuments to the fallen soldier showed how the public schoolboy represented the archetypal British masculine figure. As Eric Hobsbawn notes: 'The institution of "old boys", which developed rapidly from the 1870s on, demonstrated that the products of an educational establishment formed a network which might be national or international but it also bonded younger generations to older.'[99] This was in keeping with wider nineteenth-century imperialist ideologies. James Mangan, writing on Hely Hutchinson Almond, the headmaster of the Loretto School, summarises:

> Boys who would be men, he asserted, who meant to play a man's part in the world, should study the lives of British martyrs and heroes [. . .] The blood of heroes, he announced, was the life of nations. To inscribe their names 'on the glorious roll' and further the destiny of England, he told his pupils to realize the virtues of truth, purity, courage, simplicity, hardiness, and reverence.[100]

These ideologies become part of the public school ethos. Little could Wade have known that for many of the schoolboys who read his article, these monuments were a prophetic symbol of what was to be their own fate during the First World War.

In his commentary on the cricketer David Denton, Wade created a sense of masculine camaraderie through the celebrated successes of sports. He wrote: 'And so say all of us boys to-day, young and old together, who love a manly sport and

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[97] Bristow, p. 45.
[98] 'Some Heroes', p. 255.
[99] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire* (London: Abacus, 1987), p. 179.
[100] J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), p. 26.

admire a manly sportsman, one of the best!'.[101] Boyish excitement and manliness were brought together through the shared admiration and passion felt for the game of cricket and its star players. Keith A. P. Sandiford observes that: 'The sporting fever, in fact, pervaded all aspects of Victorian life. While soccer became, so to speak, the opiate of the masses, cricket emerged as the great national symbol, and all ludic champions became national heroes'.[102] Along with fame there came a responsibility for athletes to represent their nation and provide positive role models for their fans. In 1905, the 'Our Note Book' column of the *Boy's Own Paper* published a letter from a reader entitled 'Pro Patria Et Imperio (roughly translated as For Nation and Empire). Its author defended the reputation of athletes saying:

> Some writers have thought fit to write disparagingly of our cricket and football players; they certainly, however, did their duty in the late war [the Second Boer War], and until some better form of recreation and healthful exercise is discovered we shall always uphold these manly sports.[103]

By the time of this letter, the image of the sportsman as a national hero-figure was already well established within the *Boy's Own Paper*. Antony Bateman argues: 'As the sport was distanced from the more unseemly elements of the old popular culture, forms of literature endowed it with the necessary cultural validation to become a symbol of nation and subsequently, empire'.[104] Throughout the *Boy's Own Paper*, both fiction and non-fiction literature employed military imagery to describe sporting events. In doing so, the sportsman merged with the soldier and produced an idealised national hero-figure.

The *Boy's Own Paper* predominantly focused on the games of cricket, rugby, and football. It also covered sports such as: rowing, cycling, running, gymnastics, and ping-pong. Of all these forms of athletics, cricket was presented as the ultimate game of character and manliness. Bateman observes: 'From the middle of the nineteenth century cricket became an integral element in the middle-class

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[101] G. A. Wade, 'The Man of the Cricket Week: David Denton', *BOP*, 3 August 1907, pp. 702-703 (p. 703).
[102] Keith A. P. Sandiford, 'The Victorians at Play: Problems in Historiographical Methodology', *Journal of Social History*, 15 (1981), 271-288 (p. 282).
[103] Anon, 'Pro Patria Et Imperio', *BOP*, 13 June 1903, p. 592.
[104] Anthony Bateman, *Cricket, Literature and Culture: Symbolising the Nation, Destabilising Empire* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009), p. 3.

reform and expansion of the public schools and in the ability of these institutions to produce hegemonic representations of English masculine identity'.[105] The *Boy's Own Paper* published a range of articles that fed into the glorification of the athletes and sportsmen. T. C. Collings contributed a series of interviews, which were called 'chats', with leading players such as the cricketer Albert Ward (1865-1939), and through this more informal style of writing created a sense of camaraderie between the players and the readers. They also employed experts to explain the rules and techniques of the game. Rev. J. Pycroft (1813-1895), who wrote 'The Cricket Field' (1851), contributed a four-part series to the *Boy's Own Paper* entitled 'Practical Hints from a Veteran Cricketer' (1881). In fact, his playing career was a short-lived stint while at Oxford University and his expertise focused more on the technical strategy of the game than in playing it at amateur or professional level. The *Boy's Own Paper* introduced Pycroft as 'The veteran writer of these "Hints" [who] is universally recognised as unquestionably one of the very highest authorities on Cricket'.[106]

What Pycroft's writing did offer was an insight into the growing interest within Christian culture surrounding cricket. Wray Vamplew notes:

> Beginning in the 1860s, and accelerating in the 1870s with the expansion of a national school system, muscular Christians – young ministers and teachers often themselves products of public-school athleticism – sought to evangelise through the medium of sport. Sport gave them a point of contact for conversion, but, more than that, sport was character-forming as it taught self-discipline and team spirit and it offered a counterattraction to gambling, drink and crime.[107]

Simon Rae, the most recent biographer of cricketer W. G. Grace, challenges this commonly adopted reading that associates the rise in amateur cricket clubs in the 1870s with a ministerial objective. Rae argues that: 'Some cricket historians, falling for the propaganda of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), have seen the mid-century expansion of cricket as part of the wholesome spread of muscular

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[105] *Ibid*., pp. 31-32.
[106] Rev. J. Pycroft, 'Practical Hints from a Veteran Cricketer', *BOP*, 16 July 1881, pp. 679-680 (p. 679).
[107] Wray Vamplew, *Play Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 51-52.

Christianity'.[108] However, Rae concludes: 'high-minded proponents of spiritual service through selfless sporting endeavour were a minority compared to those who simply saw cricket as one of life's pleasures'.[109] And yet, *Tom Brown* propaganda had already become part of a Victorian Christian vocabulary and the application of ideologies associated with 'muscular Christianity' espoused within the game of cricket was just one of the many ways Christian values were inculcated within nineteenth-century society. Their influence should not be disregarded lightly, as Sandiford observes:

> The relationship between Victorian cricket and religion was direct, and the church influence was doubly profound since several clergymen served as headmasters in the emerging public schools where they implemented their ideas of muscular Christianity and tried to train outstanding civic leaders by exposing them to organised sports.[110]

As already discussed, the Religious Tract Society turned to the periodical press to produce a publication that appealed to contemporary reading preferences in order to promote Christian ideologies and in doing so created a brand of boys' literature that is still recognisable today. In the same way, cricket became the modern sport that represented both Christian and national values and in doing so changed the way in which these values were encountered.

W. G. Grace: The Sportsman as Role Model

While the majority of sporting articles praised the group efforts of the team, the *Boy's Own Paper* did occasionally publish articles that applauded the individual sports hero. Organised sports that promoted personal discipline and teamwork echoed a wider nineteenth-century admiration for the athlete and articles written by prominent sports figures, such as those published in the *Boy's Own Paper* by the famous cricketer W. G. Grace, were featured as modern-day heroes. Bruce Haley writes: 'to a nation preoccupied with health, the athlete was the new hero and the

[108] Simon Rae, *W.G. Grace: A Life* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999), p. 44.
[109] *Ibid*.
[110] Keith A. P. Sandiford, 'England', in *Imperial Game*, ed. by Brian Stoddart and Keith A. P. Sandiford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 9-33 (p. 21).

"human form divine" the hero's clear insignia'.[111] Grace was one of the leading sports figures of the nineteenth century and exemplified this new form of hero worship. W. F. Mandle observes: 'He was in all aspects, a man of his time, not only by the accident of his being a cricketer, but by his being able to embody what the nineteenth century, and particularly the English nineteenth century required of its great men'.[112] In his biography of Grace, Rae notes: 'W.G. Grace was unquestionably the dominant personality in Victorian cricket. Some saw him as a classic case of arrested development, a perpetual schoolboy'.[113] Like Reed, Grace was another example of what Jeffery Richards describes as the '*puer aeternus*, the boy who never grew up'.[114] Characterising Grace as a 'man-child' was in keeping with the paper's overall attempt to create a bridge between the juvenile reader and the adult editor/author.

During the nineteenth century, Grace was the ultimate *Boy's Own Paper* hero and regularly featured as both the subject and author of numerous articles. The illustration 'On the Bat's back I do fly' (1895) was a unique example in which the portrait of a living individual was featured on the front page of the *Boy's Own Paper*. **[Figure 3]** Generally the front-page illustration was associated with a serialised story, and Grace's prominent position makes this level of hero worship unique during Hutchison's editorship of the *Boy's Own Paper*. Grace's connection to the *Boy's Own Paper* was a familial one as his brother-in-law, William John Gordon, worked for the *Boy's Own Paper* as an assistant editor. Jack Cox writes: 'Gordon was related by marriage to the world's most renowned cricketer, Dr W. G. Grace, and was his friend, confidant, accountant, and collaborator in all his cricket

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[111] Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 207-8.
[112] W. F. Mandle, 'W. G. Grace as a Victorian Hero', *Historical Studies*, 19 (1981), 353-368 (p. 367).
[113] Rae, p. xi.
[114] Jeffrey Richards, '"Passing the Love of Women": Manly Love and Victorian Society', in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. by J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 92-122 (p. 106).

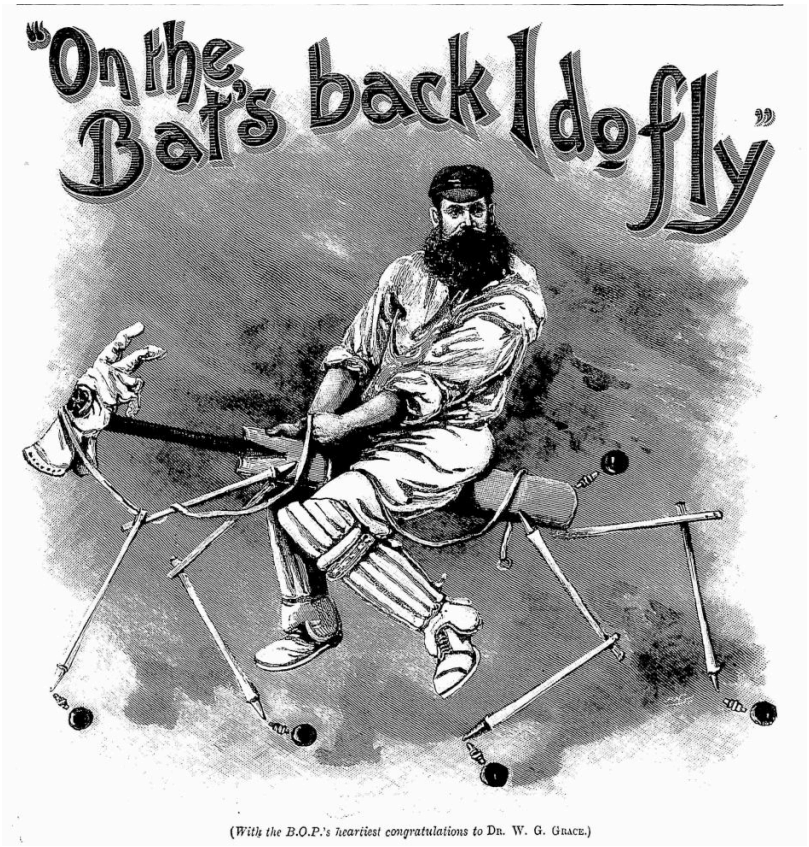

Figure 3: Anon, 'On the Bat's back I do fly', *BOP*, 28 September 1895, p. 817.

writings'.[115] As a result, the *Boy's Own Paper* published several articles in which Grace gave first-hand advice on cricketing techniques. These included a ten week series on 'Cricket and How to Excel in it' (1880) with illustrations by Alfred Pearse, 'The Cricket Bat: How to Make It, Choose It, and Use It' (1883), 'Our Leading Cricket Teams' (1895), and 'The New London County Cricket Club and a Chat with its Secretary, Dr. W. G. Grace' (1899). In his article 'Dr. W. G. Grace, Champion Cricketer of England', Gordon wrote:

> England has no more popular game than cricket, and cricket has had no greater exponent than William Gilbert Grace. For the last seventeen years his position in the cricket world has been unique. Since 1864, when he first appeared in the London matches, no man has played the game more, no man has played it better. His achievements have been something

[115] Cox, *Take A Cold Tub*, p. 26.

> marvellous – few bowlers have surpassed him, few have equalled him, no batsman has approached him.[116]

Most of the individuals who received such verbose glorification were historical figures, but with athletes the *Boy's Own Paper* was able to present real-life role models. In this way, the athlete became an idealised figure whose qualities overlapped with those of the public schoolboy. This was evident in *The Memorial Biography of Dr. W. G. Grace* (1919):

> Beyond all others he stood out as the typical example of absolute supremacy in his own sphere. In the best sense he was an individual gifted with amazing aptitude, emerging from the middle classes to be the foremost in a game dear to all ranks in English society. It is but a truism to say that, to all intent and purpose, Grace personified cricket to the whole Empire for successive generations of cricketers [. . .] It was not only what he achieved, it was also the individuality of that man, his massive, unmistakably British personality which exercised a spell over the crowd and caught the imagination of those who never saw him to such an extent.[117]

Printed alongside the eighth instalment of Grace's series is a large illustration with the caption 'What a Jolly Cricketer he would make!'. **[Figure 4]** Here a schoolboy poses with his cricket bat in front of a mounted suit of armour. The light tone of the exclamation imitates the plucky schoolboy, while the formidable suit of armour conjures up an ancestral bravery. The imagery suggests that the schoolboy will assume his inherited role as protector of the nation. Sandiford observes: 'The Victorians revived the mediaeval concept of the chivalrous knight and emerged with the notion of the Christian cricketer. Godliness, and manliness, spiritual perfection and physical power, all became inextricably interwoven'.[118] Despite the religious connotations associated with chivalry, the image of the knight symbolised an inherited national identity. And the association between medieval heraldry, the crests of public schools, and military uniforms exemplified the way in which the *Boy's Own Paper* produced a seamless connection between British military history

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[116] Anon, 'Dr. W. G. Grace, Champion Cricketer of England', *BOP*, 3 July 1880, pp. 633-634 (p. 633). [Jack Cox credits William John Gordon for this article.]
[117] Lord Hawke, Lord Harris and Sir Home Gordon, *The Memorial Biography of Dr. W. G. Grace* (London: Constable & Company, Ltd., 1919), pp. 15-16.
[118] Keith A. P. Sandiford, 'Cricket and the Victorian Society', *Journal of Social History*, 17 (1983), 303-317 (p. 305).

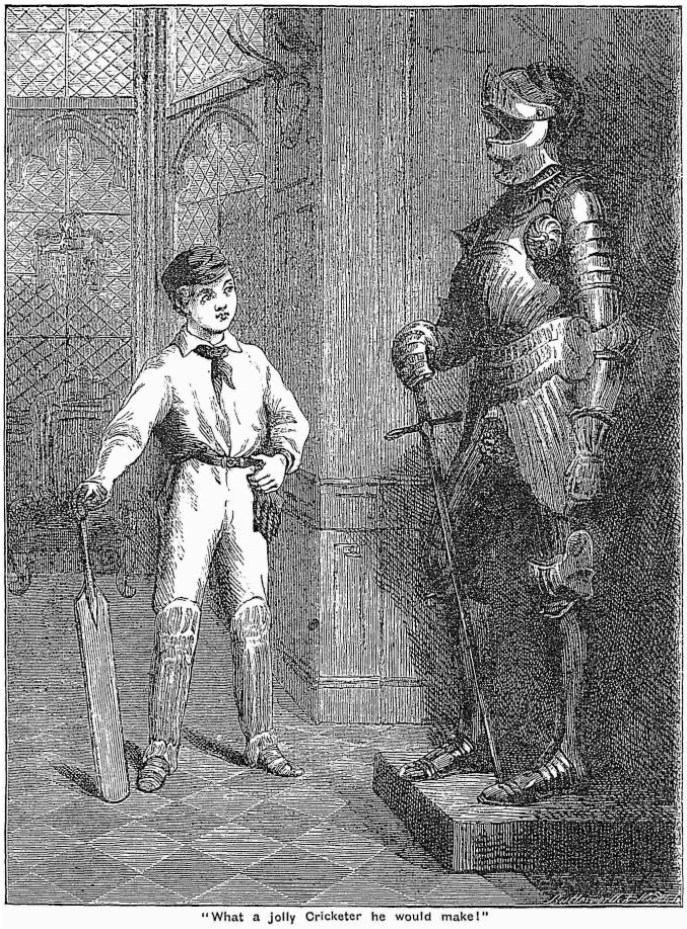

Figure 4: Anon, 'What a Jolly Cricketer he would make!', *BOP*, 28 August 1880, p. 780. © The British Library Board, P.P.5993.u.

and contemporary military efforts. This mirroring brought together the overlapping images of the schoolboy, the athlete, and the military.

Along with the hero worship of individual players, readers were also reminded of the importance of teamwork. Grace wrote:

> In cricket, the object of every player should be winning the match, and not his own glorification; hence all should work as one man for the good of the side, and practise for matches as much as possible in each other's company. It is remarkable what a difference there is between the play and success of a team who are strangers to one another, and of an eleven who have been trained together and are well acquainted with each other's whims and peculiarities.[119]

[119] W. G. Grace, 'Cricket, and How to Excel in it', *BOP*, 21 August 1880, pp. 743-744 (p. 743).

Grace's message was a simple one; an individual's strengths were best employed as part of his team's effort to succeed. In 1914, after the advent of the First World War, Grace wrote a letter to the *Sportsman* making a similar appeal. 'There are many cricketers who are already doing their duty', he wrote, 'but there are many more who do not seem to realise that in all probability they will have to serve [. . .] I should like to see all first-class cricketers of suitable age, etc., set a good example, and come to the help of their country without delay in its hour of need'.[120] The solemnity of this message indicated that indeed a point had arisen in which the schoolboy, the athlete, and the soldier would become the one and most significant hero. Pinning the nation's identity onto the sports figure meant that when the time came to defend Britain, they were expected to 'Play up! and play the game!'.[121]

Rugby and Football

As with cricket, the coverage of rugby and football in the *Boy's Own Paper* was extensive, with articles on the history of the game, strategy, sporting personalities, etc. And as with cricket, the *Boy's Own Paper* called in leading experts in the field to contribute. In the year following Grace's successful series on cricket, the *Boy's Own Paper* published a seventeen part series on 'Rugby Football and How to Excel in it' (1881). Tony Collins comments on the series: 'Written by the former Scottish rugby captain Robert "Bulldog" Irvine, the series went into immense detail about the intricacies of playing in each position in a "rugger" side, complete with diagrams and illustrations, illuminated by the Bulldog's own experience in the game'.[122] Unlike the lengthy introduction to Grace's series, Irvine's introduction appeared in the form of an editorial footnote. It quotes his response to being asked to write for the *Boy's Own Paper*: 'I am always willing and glad to do anything I can do to popularise, and remove prejudices concerning, what I consider to be the

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[120] Rae, pp. 486-487.
[121] Henry Newbolt, 'Vitai Lampada', in Susan Chitty, *Playing the Game: A Biography of Sir Henry Newbolt* (London: Quartet Books Ltd., 1997), p. 110. [In 1900 the *BOP* published a poem by W. Cecil Laming entitled 'Play Up and Play the Game!', a clear tribute to Newbolt's 1892 poem.]
[122] Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p. 106.

finest game for a sound boy or man that was ever invented'.[123] Whereas cricket was already acknowledged as a gentleman's sport, Irvine appears to be justifying the credibility of rugby. The series provided basic information on game's rules as explained through the description of fictitious matches played between two teams, the 'Jingoes' and the 'Grampuses' (killer whales). Both names denoted clannish loyalty and physical power. Irvine wrote, 'The Jingoes played as a team, no man for his own hand, but all for the common good, and they had their reward'.[124] Again, the importance of the game encouraged selflessness for the good of the team. The team's name evoked an intrinsic patriotism within sport; a jingo, meaning 'one who brags of his country's preparedness for fight', inculcates an aggressive militarism.[125] Their victory over the 'Grampuses' also suggested the innate dominance of the civilised over the wild.

Most public schools had their own variation of rules for the sport of rugby, the game eventually developing into the separate games of football and rugby: the Football Association was established in 1863, Rugby Union in 1871 and Rugby League in 1895. The formalisation of these games was commonly attributed to the rise of athleticism within the public schools. Somerville Gibney, in his series on 'Public School Football and How to Play it' (1891), discussed the historical differences of the leading public schools and their role in producing top players. Gibney wrote:

> It may be taken as a general fact that our representative players among the amateur clubs did not commence their football education in those clubs. Their nurseries were the great public schools, and it is a curious fact, and one that many of the admirers of Association football regret, that in neither of the three largest schools, Eton, Harrow, and Winchester, is that game played. And yet these have turned out giants in the Association game, but they have learnt it *after* leaving school. In their nurseries they have had the groundwork of good play, pluck, endurance, coolness, unselfishness, and obedience to the captain's orders inculcated, and then it has not taken them long to pick up the new game, and by practicing what they have previously learnt, they have speedily won for themselves honourable positions on the more extensive field.[126]

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[123] Dr Robert Irvine, 'Rugby Football and How to Excel in it', *BOP*, 22 October 1881, p. 51.
[124] 'Ruby Football', 26 November 1881, pp. 142-143, (p. 142).
[125] 'jingo, adj. 1.', *OED Online* [accessed 29 August 2014]
[126] Somerville Gibney, 'Public School Football', *BOP*, 3 October 1891, p. 15.

His statement addressed several recurring themes found throughout articles on public school and sport. First it referred to the 'great public schools', a phrase that set the nine original public schools apart from the newer public schools that were opening throughout the mid and late nineteenth century. Secondly, Gibney stated that public schools trained the best players in Association Football. And thirdly, he reiterated the public schoolboy's universal qualities of discipline, energy and teamwork skills.

While Gibney's series enforced these generally accepted public schoolboy stereotypes found in the *Boy's Own Paper*, he also attempted to identify the unique cultures of sport found within individual schools. The series went on to look at Harrow, whose 'game is one in which perseverance, pluck, and stamina contribute to victory even more than speed or skill'.[127] His article on the 'Eton Field Game' (1891) observed 'that in football as well as in other matters she has her own peculiar code of laws'.[128] These articles were co-written by a selection of public schoolboys (past and present), which was a significant indicator of the growing expertise attributed to schoolboy athletes. The *Boy's Own Paper* rarely published articles by schoolboys. E. S. Turner observes in *Boy's Will be Boys* (1975): 'A reader of the *Boy's Own Paper* was very smartly slapped down for his mistaken assumption that certain articles were written by boys – "they are written by *men*"'.[129] Gibney's series, along with other sporting articles in the *Boy's Own Paper*, did include pieces supposedly contributed by public school boy athletes, once again demonstrating the middle ground of the playing field between boyhood and manhood.

Even by the end of the nineteenth century, football, like rugby, still required authentication as a wholesome activity for boys. F. J. Walls, the Secretary of the Football Parliament, stated: 'The vast majority of schools play under our rules [. . .] On our council are old public-school men, and the fact that there is a discipline

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[127] Anon, 'Public School Football', *BOP*, 10 October 1891, pp. 30-31 (p. 31). [Written with A Captain Harrow Eleven]
[128] Anon, 'Public School Football', *BOP,* 31 October 1891, pp. 75-76 (p. 75). [Attributed to the 'Keeper of the Field, Eton'.]
[129] E. S. Turner, *Boys will be Boys* (London: Michael Joseph, 1975), p. 94.

exercised by the masters over the game accounts for the fact that we never get complaints about the boys'.[130] Wall's article formed an allegiance between the public school and Association Football and in doing so secured a mutual credibility. Wall advised concerned parents:

> Let your boys join in it, and learn the best lessons of unselfishness – lessons that they can learn nowhere else. Often as I have watched the unselfish passing of one to the other, the whole team playing for the honour of their school, rather than for individual triumph, have I thought that the game is valuable to young England, and that older players may well learn lessons which will help them in the battle of life.[131]

Not all parents reading the *Boy's Own Paper* were wealthy enough to send their boys to public schools. Therefore, advice such as Wall's encouraged the reader to appropriate public school values. The playing field was an ideological space in which universal qualities of camaraderie, loyalty, and honesty were applauded. It was also a political space where hierarchies between classes were disguised and enforced.

As with cricket and rugby, the *Boy's Own Paper* published a series on 'Association Football, and How to Excel in it' (1883). Written by C. W. Alcock, the secretary of the Football Association, the series only consisted of three instalments (unlike Grace's ten and Irvine's seventeen). Alcock opened his series, stating:

> One of the greatest contributors to the general popularity of the football of to-day is its simplicity. One of the chief inducements which attract thousands of spectators – as is the case in some districts of England more particularly in the north, and in other parts of the United Kingdom – is the readiness with which every detail of the game can be, if not thoroughly understood, at least followed and appreciated by the spectator of the most ordinary mental attainments.[132]

Referencing the popularity of football in northern communities, Alcock was distinctly identifying the sport with the English working class. Furthermore, Alcock informed the reader that 'the favour it has gained among all classes, and [. .

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[130] Thomas C. Collings, 'A Chat with the Secretary of the Football Parliament', *BOP*, 18 March 1899, pp. 394-395 (p. 394).
[131] *Ibid*.
[132] C. W. Alcock, 'Association Football and How to Excel in it', *BOP*, 3 February 1883, pp. 296-298 (p. 296).

.] the enjoyment with which it is witnessed by the ladies, who weary over sports of a more complicated nature'.[133] He seemingly presented football as being inclusive; however, he directly associated the stated 'simplicity' of the game with its popularity among the lower classes and women. Rather than bringing society together, Alcock accentuated the class and gender divide within sports.

Whereas cricket represented the moral codes of the chivalric knight and rugby the physical strength of militarism, football was identified as the everyman's sport. In an updated version of his series in 1900, Alcock noted that:

> Association Football is not as rich in traditions as the sister code. Rugby Unionists are fortunate in a way in being able to trace their game back in a direct line to the old and original sport played on Bigside at Rugby School [. . .] immortalised in the pages of 'Tom Brown's School Days' [. . .] Association football is hardly of as straight a growth.[134]

Collins discusses this commonly espoused differentiation in the history of rugby and football. He writes:

> More important for the broader perception of the sport, the myth served to anchor the Rugby game as separate from the older traditions of plebeian folk football creating a distinct middle-class lineage for the sport at a time when the middle classes in general were seeking to create exclusive recreational havens for themselves outside the prevailing mass sporting culture.[135]

While the middle class promoted sport and exercise as part of a healthy lifestyle, the value distinctions made between various sports perpetuated a class hierarchy based on perceived public school traditions. The heredity of the sport within public school traditions became interlinked with a hierarchical system of class.

Conclusion

In 1905 Thekla Bowser provided an amusing article for the *Boy's Own Paper* detailing a friendly cricket match between a group of popular authors and artists of the time. She concluded:

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[133] *Ibid*.
[134] 'Association Football', 6 October 1900, pp. 10-11 (p. 10).
[135] Collins, p. 6.

> What a delight it should be to you, readers of the 'Boy's Own Paper,' to think that, whatever line of work you may follow when you grow up, you can still remain faithful to your beloved sport, which is, after all, largely responsible for the sturdy Britisher, of whom England is so justly proud![136]

Increasingly, the *puer aeternus* epitomised modern British masculinity, and the playing field came to symbolise the place where boyhood and manhood converged. As Mark Turner observes: 'Manliness became a characteristic of ideal male-ness and masculinity in the pages of boys' periodicals, partly because it was in youth that one learned how to be a man.'[137] Embodying the principles of honour, chivalry, and national responsibility, the qualities associated with the public schoolboy coincided with those of the nineteenth-century sporting hero. While many of these traits overlapped with those advocated by the followers of muscular Christianity in the mid-nineteenth century, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s increasing depiction of the *puer aeternus* reflected a wider shift in ideals of masculinity occurring towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Throughout the duration of Hutchison's editorship the popular status of the sporting hero featured in the *Boy's Own Paper*'s fictional, non-fictional literature, and illustrations. Factual articles on cricket, football, and rugby offered tactical guidelines from many leading sports figures of the day as well as public school team captains. Once again we see the merging of boyhood and manhood as the school captains were treated as authorities and even given the opportunity to contribute to the *Boy's Own Paper*'s sporting literature. These articles also offered a clear visual image of the athletic hero by including portraits of individual players and teams. Initially these images were in the form of illustration, but increasingly reproductions of photographs were used. Second-hand copies of the *Boy's Own Paper* and *Boy's Own Annual* available today are often missing these individual headshots and team photographs. While it is difficult to ascertain whether these images were removed by the original reader or at a later date, these missing pages

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[136] Thekla Bowser, 'Authors and Artists at Cricket', *BOP*, 8 April 1905, p. 445. [Female author who wrote several books on first aid and was a member of a Voluntary Aid Detachment on active service in France.]

[137] Mark Turner, '*Saint Paul's* and the Project of Masculinity', in *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 232-252(p. 239).

indicate the value placed on sporting literature published in the *Boy's Own Paper* and reflects the wider collectability of sports memorabilia.[138]

Serialised fiction also included detailed descriptions of sporting events. The genre of public school story, in particular, became a staple of the *Boy's Own Paper* and its representations of the athletic public schoolboy as the hero-figure confirmed the significant connection made between sport and masculine development. Reed's contribution to the *Boy's Own Paper* offered a utopian vision of the insular world of the public school and his story 'My First Football Match' offers just one of the many instances in which an invitation to play for a school's sports team represented the important transition from boyhood to manhood. These emotive scenes often employed militaristic imagery, which added drama to the narrative development but also introduced into images of boys at play the responsibilities anticipated in manhood. The playing field of the public school has often been likened to that of a military training ground and through these texts it is evident that the guarding of the public school in *Boy's Own Paper* fiction very easily translated into the defence of a nation. As seen in the writings of Hope and Millington, the school story often revealed anxieties and tensions surrounding masculinity and national identity. Together, these texts produced a unified image of the character-building qualities of English sport and advocated conformity to hierarchical social structures as a means of providing a unified front against an external threat.

For the most part, the *Boy's Own Paper* perpetuated the image of the athletic public schoolboy as a masculine prototype. There were also instances of authors questioning society's fixation with physical masculinity. In 'Games and Recreations' (1899), Rev. J. Vaughan reassured his readers 'that it is not always fair to count a boy a fool because he cannot excel in popular pursuits. Cricket, football, and athletic exercises are excellent things; but they are not the whole of life, nor, indeed, a very important part of it'.[139] After all, he reminded them, 'Carlyle was certainly no cricketer [and] Charles Kingsley is sometimes called the apostle of

[138] Team photographs and individual headshots of cricketers cut from the pages of the *Boy's Own Paper* are often found for sale on the Internet.
[139] Rev. J. Vaughan, 'Games and Recreations', *BOP*, 9 December 1899, pp. 154-155 (p. 154).

muscular Christianity but as a boy at school his tastes lay not in the direction of games, but of natural science'.[140] While Vaughan attempted to introduce alternative examples of masculinity through intellectual achievements rather than athletic abilities, Carlyle and Kingsley were some of the very men who advocated physical masculinity. This seemingly contradictory message reflected the paper's attitude that even if the desired level of physical masculinity was not achievable in practice, the principles behind it remained an integral feature of British masculinity.

On the surface, the publication's emphasis on the masculine qualities associated with chivalry, athletic prowess, and national pride cultivated a sense of British camaraderie. Yet, as we have seen with Alcock's commentary on Association Football, the ways in which the games were discussed suggested a hierarchy of sports based on their relationship with public school sporting traditions. By imposing the ideological public school ethos across its literature, the *Boy's Own Paper* developed a masculine ideal that fostered a divisive hierarchy based on upper-class privilege and middle-class aspiration. As the following chapter demonstrates, texts addressing morality focused more on acts of conscience than on physical masculinity and offered. While these offered an alternative reading of masculine responsibility, the athletic public schoolboy was the dominant and most recognisable model of masculinity found in the *Boy's Own Paper*.

[140] *Ibid*.

Chapter 3
Self-help, Philanthropy, and Middle-Class Morality

> In this world a boy is likely to get what he gives. Men's hearts are like a whispering gallery to you. If you speak softly, a gentle whisper comes back; if you scold, you get scolded. With the measure you mete it is measured to you again.
>
> Anon, *Boy's Own Paper* (1881)[1]

> There is an old proverb which no boy would be the worse for laying up in his mind, and taking out now and then, and looking at and turning over, and better still trying to act upon. 'Aim at a silk gown, and you may get a sleeve of it.' Look high and strive to succeed in life, and you are likely to succeed. If you do not reach the top of the ladder you will attain some distance towards it. There is hardly anything beyond the attainment of merit and hard work.
>
> Rev. William Cowan, *Boy's Own Paper* (1894)[2]

Introduction

The *Boy's Own Paper* hoped to attract readers from all classes by providing a wide range of literature that both entertained and offered Christian instruction. D. M. Yeager, writing on nineteenth-century Christian social novels, observes that this style of literature purveyed 'The conventional assumption [. . .] that fiction, particularly if it was to be morally inspiring, must show life as it ought to be rather than as it is. The protagonist should be a hero or heroine readers would strive to emulate'.[3] And, as seen in the previous chapter, the *Boy's Own Paper* presented the public schoolboy and athlete as archetypal examples of physical masculinity, individualism, and integrity. Whereas the chivalric code bestowed upon the athlete and the public schoolboy inculcated a sense of elitism, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s fervent message of selflessness, personal independence, and social responsibility were characterised as intrinsic human qualities irrespective of class. John Tosh considers: 'Manly discourse was socially inclusive, uncluttered by class

[1] Anon, 'In This World a Boy is Likely to Get What He Gives', *BOP*, 8 October 1881, p. 27.
[2] Rev. William Cowan, 'Boys Who Have Risen', *BOP*, 16 June 1894, pp. 584 & 586 (p. 584).
[3] D. M. Yeager, '"Art for Humanity's Sake": The Social Novel as a Mode of Moral Discourse', *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, 33 (2005), 445-483 (p. 450).

baggage. It elevated attributes which all men admired, which were potentially within the grasp of every man and which therefore served to diminish the moral gulf between classes'.[4] However, it was often through the seemingly egalitarian models of manliness that class distinctions were most clearly drawn. This chapter studies the ways in which the *Boy's Own Paper* disseminated middle-class morality through its emphasis on self-help and philanthropy.

Samuel Smiles and the Ideology of Self-help

By the time the *Boy's Own Paper* was published, Samuel Smiles's celebration of the self-made man had already become a part of a British social discourse. His ideas were outlined in his seminal text *Self-Help* (1859) and even though the *Boy's Own Paper* only directly referenced his writing a handful of times, his influence throughout the publication is notable. According to Jeffery Richards, Smiles's ideology 'formed a holy trinity: work, perseverance and thrift. If pursued they would lead to the development of character, "the crown and glory of life," self-fulfillment and success'.[5] The *Boy's Own Paper* promoted the values of work, perseverance, thrift, and character throughout its pages, within the fictional stories, short biographical sketches, poetry, and editorial columns.

Smiles's influence on the *Boy's Own Paper* was reflected in the paper's series 'Boys Who Have Risen' (1880-1905). Each instalment focused on the life of a prominent man who was recognised for his outstanding social contributions.[6] Many of these internationally renowned figures had come from what were considered humble beginnings, a feature that was presented as an attribute to their successes rather than a disadvantage. 'Looking at some of the more remarkable [men]', Smiles wrote, 'it might almost be said that early encounter with

[4] John Tosh, 'Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 12 (2002), 455-472 (p. 469).
[5] Jeffrey Richards, 'Spreading the Gospel of Self-Help: G. A. Henty and Samuel Smiles', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 16 (1982), 52-65 (p. 53).
[6] The series looked at the following men: President Abraham Lincoln (d.1865), William Chambers (d.1883), Heinrich Schliemann (d.1890), James Nasmyth (d.1890), Lawrence Alma-Tadema (d.1912), General James Wolfe (d.1759), William Cobbett (d.1835), Robert Gooch (d.1830), Booker T. Washington (d.1915), and the members of President McKinley's (d.1901) cabinet.

difficulty and adverse circumstances was the necessary and indispensable condition of success'.[7] Rev. William Cowan, in his piece on the Scottish engineer James Nasmyth (d.1890), repeated this notion. He wrote: 'Indeed, so often has this occurred that one is inclined to think that humble circumstances may be a help and not a hindrance to success in life'.[8] It is important to note that Nasmyth was the son of the well-known portrait and landscape painter, Alexander Nasmyth (d. 1840). This suggests that 'humble circumstances' meant coming from a modest home rather than having been born into poverty.

Series, such as 'Some Boys Who Became Famous' (1879-1881), followed in the tradition of Smiles's writing. Biographical sketches on Joseph Paxton, Michael Faraday, Richard Arkwright, and George and Robert Stephenson, demonstrate how the paper emphasised the transition from humble boyhood to successful manhood, using their social progression as evidence of the individual success obtained by those with strong moral values.[9] 'The figure of the "self-made man"', as Robbie Gray observes, 'was a familiar trope, and public discourse of all kinds was marked by autobiographical references establishing credentials of character, experience and appropriate knowledge'.[10] Claiming to be self-made provided 'credentials of character', but it also followed in a mythologizing tradition that was common with the biographical writings of public figures. The *Boy's Own Paper*'s series 'Boys of English History' (1879) perpetuated this style of aspirational literature with its rags-to-riches account of 'Richard Whittington, the scullery boy, who became Lord Mayor'.[11]

These biographical sketches echoed Smiles's writing but departed from his examples in that they also celebrated the lives of famous men who had come from

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[7] Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help* (London: John Murray, 1958), p. 48.
[8] Cowan, p. 584.
[9] Joseph Paxton (d.1865), gardener, architect, and designer of the Crystal Palace was the son of a farmer. Michael Faraday (d.1867), renowned scientist was the son of a blacksmith. Richard Arkwright (d.1739), prominent inventor during the early Industrial Revolution was the son of a tailor. George Stephenson (d.1848), the son of engineman, and his son, Robert (d.1859), were railway engineers.
[10] Robbie Gray, 'Self-made Men, Self-narrated Lives: Male Autobiographical Writing and the Victorian Middle Class', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 6 (2001), 288-312 (p. 294).
[11] Anon, 'Boys of English History', *BOP*, 26 April 1879, pp. 238-239 (p. 238).

more affluent backgrounds such as Lord Macaulay, Michel Angelo, and William Scoresby.[12] These figures were often drawn up as great contributors to society, and while they were not all British nationals, they did embody the personal values admired in the British man. In the wider context of the literature published in the *Boy's Own Paper*, the discourse of self-help was often linked to the paper's discourse on the administration of charity and philanthropy. Lower and working-class characters were admired for their willingness to improve but in order to actualise their ambition they were required to accept middle-class charity. This relationship encouraged independence and dependence, thus confirming and reinforcing social limitations and boundaries.

Articles, such as 'Some Boys Who Became Famous: The Boy Who Built Crystal Palace' (1879), were intended to deliver examples of positive male role models. The *Boy's Own Paper*'s objective to deliver morally uplifting literature to readers from all social backgrounds was clearly reflected in the article's opening paragraph:

> Sometimes I see the BOY'S OWN PAPER [. . .] in the hands of very poor boys, and, remembering what some boys who were once poor have done for England by their genius and bravery, I cannot help indulging in day-dreams occasionally as to the future of some of the humblest readers of this paper. We boast of England as being the nursery of self-made men, and so it is. The most ragged urchin in London to-day – or out of it, for that matter – may rise by his honesty and perseverance and brains to a place among the great men of the age, and become the companion of princes.[13]

Although the author recognised the potential influence of the publication upon its 'humblest readers', they were not the assumed readers being addressed. Instead, these proffered 'day-dreams' appealed to middle-class ideologies and in doing so marginalised the 'very poor boys' by holding them up as additional inspirational fodder. Furthermore, the employment of patriotic rhetoric perpetuated the widely accepted belief that self-help was a definable British quality based on an inherent moral code. Those born into poverty had the potential to 'rise by [their] honesty

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[12] Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay (d.1859), historian and politician. Michelangelo (d.1564), Italian painter and sculptor. William Scoresby (d.1857), Arctic explorer.
[13] Anon, 'Some Boys Who Became Famous', *BOP*, 25 October 1879, pp. 60-62 (p. 60). [Article on Joseph Paxton]

and perseverance and brains', but they also required external guidance and instruction to assist in the realisation of their ambitions.

The Historical Romance as Aspirational Fiction

The theme of upward mobility was a common nineteenth-century literary trope employed as a means of accentuating the strength and virtue often associated with a British brand of masculinity. The connection between self-help and a national identity was in keeping with Smiles's ideology:

> Even the humblest person, who sets before his fellows an example of industry, sobriety, and upright honesty of purpose in life, has a present as well as a future influence upon the well-being of his country; for his life and character pass unconsciously into the lives of others, and propagate good example for all time to come.[14]

W. H. G. Kingston's 'From Powder Monkey to Admiral; Or, the Stirring Days of the British Navy' (1879) exemplifies how the *Boy's Own Paper* used serialised fiction as a means of addressing self-help and upward mobility. Marjory Lang observes: 'the most important function of the stories in children's magazines was to introduce young readers to the attitudes, ideals and relationships of their own society in a believable yet idealized form'.[15] By using the genre of historical romance, Kingston was able to juxtapose national mythologies alongside contemporary ideologies of personal achievement without overtly condoning military action. In his introduction to the reprinted book edition of *From Powder Monkey* (1909), James Macaulay addressed Kingston's motive behind writing a naval story for the *Boy's Own Paper*:

> Talking the matter over, it was objected that such a story might offend peaceable folk, because it must deal too much with blood and gunpowder. Mr. Kingston, although famed as a narrator of sea-fights, was a lover of peace, and he said that his story would not encourage the war spirit [. . .]

[14] Smiles, *Self-Help*, p. 39.
[15] Marjory Lang, 'Childhood's Champions: Mid-Victorian Children's Periodicals and the Critics', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 13 (1980), 17-31 (p. 27).

> And throughout the tale, not 'glory' but 'duty' is the object set before the youthful reader.[16]

Kingston's plot may be fanciful at times, however, there is no mistaking that the 'duty' to oneself and 'duty' to one's nation are intrinsically bound together.

The story takes place around the turn of the eighteenth-century and follows the life of Bill Rayner, a poor boy from London, who joins the navy in the lowest ranking capacity of powder monkey and, through hard work and the desire to improve, eventually becomes an admiral. A powder monkey was 'a boy employed to carry gunpowder from the powder magazine to the guns, especially on board a warship' and Bill's ascent through the ranks offers an inspirational, if unrealistic, account of social mobility.[17] Set aboard various British and French naval ships, the action takes place away from the domestic conventions of English society. Although the naval ship is a highly politicised space, its remote location removes societal constraints that would otherwise prevent Bill's rapid accession. This reworking of the motif of the military as a microcosm, combined with elements of the rags-to- riches tales that were popular during the nineteenth century, delivers a unique environment in which to address the British social class structure.

Bill begins his journey with two other boys of the same age, Tom Fletcher who 'was the son of a solicitor in a country town' and Jack Peek who 'was the son of a West country fisherman'. [18] Together, these characters represent a British class hierarchy, Tom as the educated middle class, Jack as the loyal working class, and Bill as the uneducated lower class. Despite coming from various social backgrounds, the three boys begin their naval careers on equal footing and their successes and failures are determined, according to Bill, by their 'moral qualities' rather than their parentage.[19] Despite having come from the most humble of backgrounds, Bill exhibits the highest moral code and demonstrates an earnest

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[16] James Macaulay, 'Introduction', in *From Powder Monkey to Admiral: A Story of Naval Adventure* by W. H. G. Kingston, new edn (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909), pp. v-xi (p. v). [First published in book format in 1883]
[17] 'powder monkey, n. 2', *OED Online* [accessed 22 April 2015]
[18] W. H. G. Kingston, 'From Powder Monkey to Admiral: Or, the Stirring Days of the British Navy', *BOP*, 18 January 1879, pp. 9-11 (pp. 10-11).
[19] 'From Powder Monkey', 27 September 1879, pp. 577-579 (p. 578).

willingness to improve. His potential is first recognised when he assists in thwarting a prisoner uprising aboard the *Foxhound* frigate. Impressed by his action, the captain rewards Bill: 'Well, my boy, I will keep an eye on you [. . .] If you wish to learn to read and write, you can come and get instruction every day from my clerk'.[20] This 'mark of distinction Bill was receiving' set him apart from the other two boys, although '[i]t never occurred to him that the captain could have perceived any merits or qualifications sufficient to raise him out of his present position'.[21] Characterised by his modest desire to learn without any expectation of advancement, Bill's moral integrity distinguishes him from his peers as Tom 'felt somewhat jealous of the favour Bill was receiving' and Jack 'had no great ambition to learn'.[22] Bill increasingly earns the favour of the captain who in turn provides him with the education and training necessary to achieve a successful naval career. The foundations of this ambitious coming-of-age story rest on Bill's readiness to act upon his moral intuition.

Bill's extraordinary journey of self-improvement could not have been achievable without the captain's investment in his education. This form of charity enables Bill's success that culminates in his achieving command over the ship *Urania* and his promotion to admiral. Furthermore, his social status is validated through his marriage to Mary Crofton, the daughter of a naval lieutenant. His boyhood poverty is not forgotten but rather incorporated into his success story as seen in Mary's testament:

> I love you, my dear Bill, for what you are, for being noble, true, and brave, and such you were when you were a powder monkey, as you call it, although you might not have discovered those qualities in yourself.[23]

This celebration of Bill's humble beginnings echoes Smiles's commentary that 'difficulty and adverse circumstances was the necessary and indispensable condition of success'.[24]

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[20] 'From Powder Monkey', 8 February 1879, pp. 49-52 (p. 50).
[21] *Ibid*.
[22] *Ibid*.
[23] 'From Powder Monkey', 27 September 1879, p. 578.
[24] Smiles, *Self-Help*, p. 48.

Kingston's message of self-help also serves as a warning against moral complacency and greed. Just as Bill climbs through the ranks of success, Tom suffers from a sharp moral decline and their juxtaposition within the text emphasises the importance of moral strength over inherited privileges. 'I'll tell you what kept you down', Jack tells Tom, 'It was conceit, idleness, drink and cowardice; and I'll tell you what gave our brave captain his first lift in the service. It was his truthfulness, his good sense, his obedience to the orders of his superiors. It was his soberness, his bravery'.[25] Tom's failure to reform results in him being sent to prison and eventually dying after engaging 'in a drunken quarrel'.[26] But Kingston's story also provides a more realistic example of self-help as seen in the character of Jack. Without grand ambitions of fame, Jack serves as Bill's faithful companion. He demonstrates honesty and valour but he also knows his place within the social hierarchy. When Bill is given command over the *Urania*, he encourages Jack to 'prepare for a boatswain's warrant', to which he responds, 'while you're afloat I'd rather be your coxswain, if you'll give me the rating; then I can always be with you and, mayhap, render you some service, which is just the thing I should be proud of doing'.[27] In his unquestioning loyalty to a higher power, Jack offers a voice of truth, for he clearly understands his own position within society. He begins the story as an illiterate son of a fisherman and ends the tale as a literate boatswain after obtaining a boatswain's warrant. And even though he does eventually pursue the necessary education to gain his warrant, his climb through the ranks is a realistic achievement.

The imaginary world created in 'From Powder Monkey to Admiral', while full of adventure and inspiration, is also strongly tethered to reality. This is demonstrated most clearly through a series of authorial interventions that bring into focus the improbability of Bill's upward mobility. Kingston's conclusion of the story's first instalment reminds the reader: 'None are allowed to enter the Navy until they have gone through a regular course of instruction in a training ship [. . .] and have a formally signed certificate that they obtained permission from their

[25] 'From Powder Monkey', 27 September 1879, p. 578.
[26] *Ibid*., p. 579.
[27] *Ibid*.

parents or guardians'.[28] This jarring comment purposefully acknowledges the fictional aspect of the text and differentiates inspirational motivation from impossible imitation. The genre of historical romance celebrated an inherited English masculinity, qualities that transcend time and class. However, Kingston's interjection makes it clear that lower-class boys should not entertain the notion of achieving such extreme upward mobility as is depicted in Bill's transformation. James Macaulay explicated this reality in the reprinted book version of *From Powder Monkey to Admiral*. In his introduction, the former editor of the *Boy's Own Paper* advised:

> While it is true that no sailor boy may now hope to become 'Admiral of the Fleet', yet there is room for advancement [. . .] Good character and good conduct, pluck and patience, steadiness and application will win their way, whether on sea or land, and in every calling.[29]

The principles of self-help were strongly encouraged, but they were also limited to the boundaries of a hierarchical class structure. Based on the commentaries of Kingston and Macaulay, the most unrealistic aspect of the text is Bill's remarkable social ascent. It served as an example of Rev. William Cowan's advice to be content with a 'silk sleeve'.

Henry Morton Stanley: Self-help in Biographical Sketches

Fiction played a critical role in the depiction of self-help in the *Boy's Own Paper* as it provided a means of discussing aspects of poverty that would have otherwise been considered salacious or humiliating. As Macaulay noted in his introduction to *From Powder Monkey to Admiral*, 'the families and friends of those "who have risen" do not always feel the same honest pride as the great men themselves in the story of their life'.[30] In many instances, humble beginnings were considered a sign of British resilience; but for many having a history of poverty, criminality, or illegitimacy was considered shameful and socially damning. The *Boy's Own Paper* provided few contemporary examples of self-made men, and the true-life accounts

[28] 'From Powder Monkey', 18 January 1879, p. 10.
[29] Macaulay, 'Introduction', p. ix.
[30] *Ibid*.

they did publish were handled with caution and discretion. The paper's treatment of the journalist and explorer, Henry Morton Stanley (d. 1904), exemplifies the complicated nature of biographical accounts and illustrates how the lines between fact and fiction were continually blurred. Stanley embodied the masculine individualism admired in the nineteenth-century explorer and having overcome a difficult childhood his life story was inspirational. It was also controversial as his self-improvement involved a rewriting of self and his unreliable accounts of events cast a shadow on his reputation.

Born John Rowlands in 1841, Stanley was the son of an unmarried Welsh woman and was first raised by various members of his family and then sent to live in a workhouse. As a young man he moved to New Orleans where he met Henry Hope Stanley, a wealthy man who supposedly treated him like a son and after whom Stanley changed his name. Stanley's adoption of a new identity reflected his desire to alter his past. Felix Driver observes: 'Stanley claimed to be an American, and made every attempt to hide the truth of his upbringing as a workhouse child in North Wales'.[31] The struggle to balance his self-made persona alongside his troublesome past was evident in the *Boy's Own Paper*'s conflicting representations of Stanley's life where aspects of his early life were either omitted or revised.

W. J. Gordon's four-part series 'Stanley the Explorer: His Boyhood and Manhood' (1890) provided the most detailed account of Stanley's life prior to becoming a famous explorer. Gordon's treatment of Stanley's childhood avoided divulging any sordid details of his past, such as being born out of wedlock, thus maintaining the *Boy's Own Paper*'s objective to provide wholesome rather than sensationalist literature. His simplified biographical sketch offered an optimistic version of events that did not strictly adhere to the facts of Stanley's history. This is clearly demonstrated in Gordon's description of Stanley's arrival at St. Asaph's Workhouse, Flintshire:

> Then his uncle, who had paid for his keep, took to himself a wife, and, as often happens, the marriage ended in the fatherless child being turned adrift in the world. But the uncle did his best, and one fine morning little

[31] Felix Driver, 'Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire', *Past & Present*, 133 (1991), 134-166 (p.146).

> John Rowlands had a long ride on pickaback and found himself deposited in the admirable institution, the Public School of St. Asaph. [. . .] At St. Asaph he remained for twelve years, becoming at last one of the school's most promising boys.[32]

The scene Gordon painted in the above passage offered an optimistic interpretation of Stanley's relationship. Stanley's relationship with his family and glossed over the twelve years Stanley spent living at the St. Asaph Workhouse. Furthermore, by claiming St. Asaph to be a public school, the shame associated with living in a workhouse was removed. Gordon's account produced a more positive image of Stanley's childhood but it also, to a certain degree, neutralised the self-help message.[33]

The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley (1909) began with a confession: 'There is no reason now for withholding the history of my early years', he wrote, 'nothing to prevent my stating every fact about myself'.[34] Stanley did not present his disadvantaged past as the source of his success, but he did want 'to encourage impoverished young people to realise their ambitions'.[35] In contrast with Gordon's positive account, Stanley's record of events challenged the naïve idealism associated with self-help by including the unpleasant realities of his childhood, as is demonstrated in the description of his arrival at St. Asaph's.

> The way seemed interminable and tedious, but he did his best to relieve my fatigue with false cajolings and treacherous endearments. At last Dick set me down from his shoulders before an immense stone building, and, passing through tall iron gates, he pulled at a bell, which I could hear clanging noisily in the distant interior. A sombre-faced stranger appeared at the door, who, despite my remonstrances, seized me by the hand, and drew me within, while Dick tried to sooth my fears with glib promises that he was only going to bring Aunty Mary to me. The door closed on him, with the echoing sound, I experienced for the first time the awful feeling of utter desolateness.[36]

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[32] W. J. Gordon, 'Stanley the Explorer: His Boyhood and Manhood', *BOP*, 4 January 1890, pp. 214-215 (p. 214).
[33] There was a grammar school in St Asaph but not a public school. It is also possible that Gordon obtained his information on Stanley's life from Sarah A. Tooley's 'Lives, Great and Simple' (1884) as she also referred to St Asaph's as a public school.
[34] *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley*, ed. by Dorothy Stanley (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. LTD., 1909), p. xv.
[35] *Ibid*., [front matter, no page number].
[36] *Ibid*., p. 10.

Based on his personal accounts, Stanley was regularly subjected to floggings and physical violence while living in the workhouse and his departure from St. Asaph was not the happy image created by Gordon. Refusing to submit to being flogged, a physical struggle ensued which resulted in the headmaster being knocked unconscious. Aware of the potential consequences of his rejection of authority, Stanley fled the workhouse. The real reason for his departure from St. Asaph's was because of disobedience and violence, actions that did not reflect the overall ethos of the *Boy's Own Paper*.

Patrick Brantlinger, writing on the working-class backgrounds of David Livingstone and Stanley, observes:

> [Their] subordinate status at home was reversed in Africa. Livingstone the factory boy could be Livingstone the great white leader and teacher in Africa; Stanley the pauper orphan became a great pioneer and field marshal, blazing the trail for civilization'.[37]

Travel offered an environment free from the restrictive social and class divisions that would have prevented them from achieving such levels of fame and influence. This echoes 'From Powder Monkey to Admiral' where the remarkable rise of Bill takes place aboard a ship and therefore away from standard social conventions. Stanley's reinvented identity certainly gained him attention, but it did not always gain respect. For the students in R. A. R. Bennett's article 'How We Gave Stanley His D. C. L. Degree' (1891): 'the person on whom we most wished to feast our eyes on was the quondam workhouse-boy, the commander of the Emin Pasha relief expedition'.[38] For the Oxford University audience, Stanley was paraded as a foreign spectacle. His identity as a self-made man had the allure of the exotic, but despite his achievements he was still marginalised because of his background.

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[37] Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 183.
[38] R. A. R. Bennett, 'How We Gave Stanley His D. C. L. Degree', *BOP*, 31 January 1891, pp. 281-283 (p. 281).

Education, Hard work, and Overcoming Adversity

As seen in the previous chapter, the *Boy's Own Paper* was dominated by literature that focused on the pursuits of public schoolboys. Less often, the paper produced fictional pieces that featured working boys as the protagonist and Talbot Baines Reed's 'My Friend Smith: A Story of School and City Life' (1882-1883) is a significant example of this divergence. Unlike the greater part of Reed's serialised fiction that was set in the romanticised world of the public school, 'My Friend Smith' represents idealised masculinity through the virtues of self-help and hard work.[39] The story traces the lives of two lower-middle class boys who move to London in order to gain employment. Hutchison commented on this choice of subject, writing:

> 'My Friend Smith' was written in response to our suggestion that, as all his previous stories dealt mainly with public-school life, he should give us one that, commencing with the lower middle-class, should follow the hero up to London and deal with the trials and temptations incident to bread-winning.[40]

By commissioning Reed to write a story specifically addressing issues pertaining to the lower-middle-class reader, Hutchison acknowledged the need for readers to feel represented within the publication. The story's prevailing themes of self-help and Christian faith also emphasised Hutchison's editorial responsibility to provide uplifting and aspirational literature.

'My Friend Smith' is a coming-of-age story that centres on the friendship between Fred Batchelor and Jack Smith and their struggle to rise above their disadvantaged and difficult circumstances. Told from the perspective of Fred, the story is divided into two parts: 'How I fared, first at Stonebridge House, and subsequently in the City Life for which it was meant to train me'.[41] Fred is cared for by his uncle, an austere man, whose relationship with his nephew is one of

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[39] The *BOP* later serialised Paul Blake's story 'School and the World: A Story of School and City Life' (1885). While the title suggests a thematic overlap with Reed's 'My Friend Smith', Blake's characters are not put to the same test of self-improvement.
[40] G. A. Hutchison, 'The Late Mr. Talbot Baines Reed', *BOP*, 3 March 1894, pp. 346-347 (p. 346).
[41] Talbot Baines Reed, 'My Friend Smith', *BOP*, 7 October 1882, pp. 1-3 (p. 3).

merely familial obligation. He provides for Fred's basic needs, but he exhibits very little interest or belief in Fred's ability to become successful. Jack is also raised without parents as his mother died in childbirth and his father was sent to Australia to serve a criminal sentence for fraud. Underlying these hardships is a strong message of self-improvement through honesty, hard work and selflessness, ideologies that resonates with Smiles's ideas of self-help.

The reflective style of writing is told from the adult perspective of Fred and provides an underlying authoritative voice within the text. This position is reiterated by the narrator's occasional observations of his younger self, interjections that reassert the story's credibility: 'Now, reader, whoever you are, before I go further I ask you to remember that I am recording in this book not what I ought to have done, but what I did do'.[42] These asides interrupt the narrative flow and form a space where the adult and child self encounter each other. Reed's doubling of Fred as narrator and character provides a commentary on the fallibility of youth and confirms the adult authorial position within the text. This interaction between adult narrator and child character is seen in Charles Dickens's depiction of Pip in *Great Expectations* (1861), of which John Lucas observes:

> There are essentially two points of view in *Great Expectations*. One is that of the Pip who lives through the novel, the other belongs to the Pip who narrates it. And the second point of view is the authoritative one, commenting on, correcting, judging the earlier self, (or selves).[43]

In much the same way, as narrator, Fred's adult presence within the text offers a critical commentary. Narrative interruptions such as depicted here, and earlier in Kingston's authorial interjections in 'From Powder Monkey to Admiral', reminded the juvenile reader of the continual presence of an adult masculine authority.

The first part of the story takes place at 'that select and popular "Academy for Backward and Troublesome Young Gentlemen" (so the advertisement ran), known as Stonebridge House'.[44] Fred's first impression of Stonebridge House is

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[42] 'My Friend Smith', 13 January 1883, pp. 241-244 (p. 243).
[43] John Lucas, *The Melancholy Man: A study of Dickens's novels* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1980), p. 291.
[44] 'My Friend Smith', 7 October 1882, pp. 1-3 (p. 2).

that it does not 'look much like a school [. . .] It was a large straggling building, rather like a farmhouse'.[45] The school's structure is reminiscent of the out-dated mode of operation boarding schools were trying to move away from in the late nineteenth century. Its regulations prohibit individualism and provide few opportunities for the boys to forge friendships; it is portrayed as an unhealthy environment that limits intellectual and manly development. This oppressive atmosphere sharply contrasts with the celebration of boyhood found in the public school stories of the *Boy's Own Paper*. As the narrator comments 'when I take *my* boy to school, I do not think with what I know now, I shall put him anywhere where the dormitory is like that of Stonebridge House'.[46] His response distinctly lacks the nostalgia 'old boys' associated with their public school days. It is an open rejection of an educational system that stifles rather than encourages the social development of boys.

As seen in Reed's 'Fifth Form at St. Dominic's', hierarchical structures among pupils were at times challenged. 'My Friend Smith' takes this rejection of authority one step further by creating an episode in which the boys of Stonebridge House revolt against the school's management. This defiance of adult authority is mainly directed towards the 'stern and scraggly' housekeeper, Miss Henniker.[47] Even though she is in complete control of the running of the school, Miss Henniker is an outsider. As a woman, she does not belong in the masculine environment of the boarding school and her German-sounding name further distances her from the English educational establishment.[48] When the pupils rally against her tyranny, the defiance becomes a physical exertion of masculine power over a specifically female authority.

The chapter 'How there arose a notable rebellion at Stonebridge House' describes how, in an attempt to negotiate an end to the unjust punishments administered daily by Miss Henniker, the boys collectively decide to take siege of

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[45] 'My Friend Smith', 14 October 1882, pp. 17-19 (p. 18).
[46] *Ibid*., p. 19. [original italics]
[47] *Ibid*., p. 18.
[48] Henniker sounds similar to the German word 'henker', which means hangman or executioner.

the school. The sense of urgency and bravery of the event is heightened through the use of military descriptors. Under the leadership of Jack, who is described as 'a regular general', the boys gather 'like patriots on the morning of a battle which is to decide their freedom or slavery'.[49] They take the schoolmaster and housekeeper hostage, which shows their strategic ingenuity and their physical strength. Eventually Jack ends the siege and when order is restored to the school, he is the only boy who takes responsibility and, as a result, is the only student expelled. The rebellion seen in 'Fifth Form at St. Dominic's' was kept under the watchful eye of the headmaster, whose authority is maintained throughout the text. In contrast, the defiance exhibited in 'My Friend Smith' is in part due to the rebellious nature of the pupils but it also provides a commentary on the failure of the school's management. Clearly, a successful boarding school should be modelled on the public school ethos.

The second part of the story takes place when Jack and Fred are reunited in London when they discover they have both been employed as clerks for the same business. Here is where the differences between Fred and Jack are defined. Fred is easily discouraged with his situation and by the time he arrives in London he already decided 'it was no use trying to improve, and therefore didn't try'.[50] Instead of looking to Jack as a loyal friend and role model, Fred continually struggles to gain acceptance from his fellow clerks and compromises his reputation trying to fit in. 'In the course of one short evening', Fred laments, 'I had forsaken more than one old principle, merely because others did the same'.[51] He buys frivolous items on credit, gambles, smokes, drinks, and boxes; all of these vices cause him to accumulate substantial debts. In 'My Friend Smith' financial independence is paramount to living an honest and manly life. This attitude reflects Smiles's ideology:

> [T]hriftless persons are often driven in the end to do very shabby things. They waste their money as they do their time; draw bills upon the future; anticipate their earnings; and are thus under the necessity of dragging after

[49] 'My Friend Smith', 18 November 1882, pp. 97-99 (p. 98).
[50] 'My Friend Smith', 2 December 1882, pp. 129-132 (p. 130).
[51] 'My Friend Smith', 6 January 1883, pp. 225-228 (p. 277).

> them a load of debt and obligations which seriously affect their action as free and independent men.[52]

Fred fits this profile of the thriftless person: he buys food on credit in order to entertain his friends, he buys ready-made clothes to look more fashionable, he borrows money to cover his gambling debts, and lies to Jack about his financial state because he is ashamed. Reed depicts the importance of developing a strong value system and, in characterising Fred as naïve and reckless, he demonstrates how one bad decision can lead to a slippery slope of immorality.

Smiles also warned that bad habits formed in youth were a detriment to the success of manhood.

> The worst of youthful indiscretions is, not that they destroy health, so much as that they sully manhood. The dissipated youth becomes a tainted man; and often he cannot be pure, even if he would. If cure there be, it is only to be found in inoculating the mind with fervent spirit of duty, and in energetic application to useful work.[53]

Based on this passage, the successes of manhood were achieved through the religious devotion to self-help during boyhood. For Fred and Jack, this point is particularly significant as their youth is shortened by the need to earn an income. It is also important to note that even though Fred finds his way back to moral living, his ability to gain financial stability is in part due to the intervention of a wealthy friend. A former schoolmate covers Fred's debts because he sees the potential good in him. Fred does pay him back, however, this relationship once again enforces the idea that those with financial wealth have a social responsibility to help those below them. But it also indicates that it is the wealthy person's prerogative, perhaps even inherent right, to select the subject of that charity.

Fred serves as a warning and as an example. 'Temptation', as Smiles wrote, 'will come to try the young man's strength; and once yielded to, the power to resist grows weaker and weaker. Yield once, and a portion of virtue has gone. Resist manfully, and the first decision will give strength for life; repeated, it will become a

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[52] Smiles, *Self-Help*, p. 287.
[53] *Ibid*., p. 319.

habit'.[54] The onus is placed on the young man to behave manfully, however, as Anne Scott MacLeod observes:

> [F]ictional children had faults and lapses from grace [. . .] What made them models was not their perfection, which did not exist, but their sensitive consciences, which did. The fictional child who did wrong was quick to repent and eager to reform, and of all the qualities the authors tried to implant in children, these were perhaps the most important.[55]

In this sense, Fred provides an equally important role model through his imperfections and redemption. Smiles also considered: 'We learn wisdom from failure much more than from success.'[56] This philosophy goes one step further in 'My Friend Smith' as the message of personal success is tied in with Christian beliefs. Jack may have been Fred's moral compass, but as the narrator observes, 'He had yet to learn that if one wants to keep out of mischief one must not depend altogether upon one's friends, or even oneself, for the blessing. Strength must be sought from a Higher Power'.[57] When Fred becomes aware of his misdirection, he provides the following testimonial:

> [W]e boys, sent up to rough it in London, are not, after all, mere slung stones. There *is* some One who cares for us, some One who comes after us when we go astray, some One who saves us when we are at the point of falling, if we will but cry, in true penitence, to Him![58]

This is reiterated in the redemption of Jack's father, who confides in Fred that while serving out his fourteen-year sentence in Australia for fraud 'I learned lessons an eternity of happiness might never have taught me. Christ is very pitiful'.[59] Including the message of divine forgiveness proffers the belief that all things happen for a reason, including hardships.

Fred's journey is fraught with moral pitfalls of his own making, but Jack's struggles are inherited. Having a criminal father is a real risk to Jack's own prospects of upward mobility. The nadir of Fred's degradation is not found in his

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[54] *Ibid*., p. 292.
[55] Anne Scott MacLeod, *American Childhood: Essays on Children's Literature of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994), p. 102.
[56] Smiles, *Self-Help*, p. 322.
[57] 'My Friend Smith', 3 February 1883, pp. 289-292 (p. 290).
[58] 'My Friend Smith', 7 April 1883, pp. 439-440 (p. 439).
[59] 'My Friend Smith', 5 May 1883, pp. 508-510 (p. 510).

gambling and debts, but when he reveals the truth about Jack's father to their fellow clerks. Fred laments: 'Vain and selfish fool that I had been! Always thinking what others would think of me, and never how best I could help him in his gallant struggle against his evil destiny'.[60] Disclosing Jack's secret sullies Fred's character and his betrayal of friendship jeopardises Jack's reputation and employability. As a fellow clerk observes: 'It was all very well when we weren't supposed to know [. . .] but now it's all out he doesn't expect us to treat him like an ordinary gentleman'.[61] Already ostracised by his fellow clerks for his refusal to socialise with them, this revelation gives them further ammunition against him and threatens his reputation as an honest employee. However, when Jack shares the truth about his father's criminal past with his employers, they judge him according to his own credibility, once again demonstrating the power of individual morality in overcoming adversity.

Just as in Smiles's message of self-help, education is at the core of 'My Friend Smith', particularly in the development of Jack. He is industrious at work, takes evening classes, wins a scholarship to attend university, and is eventually made a junior partner in the company. 'Example', wrote Smiles, 'is one of the most potent of instructors, though it teaches without a tongue'.[62] Jack's determination enables him to rise above his disadvantaged upbringing and it also makes him a role model of self-improvement, helping those around him to also improve their situation. This is seen in his treatment of Billy, a young shoeblack, whom he takes under his wing. Billy is characterised as morally and physically underdeveloped, a boy who 'seemed about eight years old',[63] and is often described as being animal-like with a 'cat-like vigilance'[64] and 'a young bulldog ready to spring'.[65] But despite Billy's rough upbringing, which includes abuse at the hand of his mother and homelessness, he displays a strong sense of pride in his work and a sense of loyalty. These admirable qualities are what make him the subject of Jack's charity,

[60] 'My Friend Smith', 24 February 1883, pp. 337-339 (p. 339).
[61] 'My Friend Smith', 3 March 1883, pp. 353-356 (p. 354).
[62] Smiles, *Self-Help*, p. 341.
[63] 'My Friend Smith', 30 December 1832, 209-212 (p. 210).
[64] 'My Friend Smith', 3 March 1883, p. 355.
[65] 'My Friend Smith', 7 April 1883, p. 439.

so while they are innately part of his character he still requires moral guidance in order to transform into a respectable working-class young man.

Fred's betrayal of Jack is accentuated by Billy's unwavering loyalty: 'Jack Smith had still a friend. I had sacrificed him, but he had yet another, more faithful and honest than I had been, ready to champion his cause, and rejoicing to do him service'.[66] Billy's uncomplicated display of loyalty indicates an inherent sense of morality and his devotion to Jack nearly costs him his own life. This demonstrates that goodness comes from within and that through the education and instruction provided by those above him, Billy is awarded the opportunity to rise above the ignorance associated with poverty. The relationship between Fred and Billy is reminiscent to Bill and Jack's in 'From Powder Monkey'. Both improve their situations through education and the willingness to improve. Fred and Bill demonstrate upward mobility while Billy and Jack remain tethered to their class.

Social Responsibility

As already discussed in this chapter, many of the texts published in the *Boy's Own Paper* that dealt with self-help and philanthropy also contained a strong Christian message. Elizabeth Eiloart's[67] 'The Ill-Used Boy; or; Lawrence Hartley's Grievances' (1881-1882) provides an example of how the publication also contained literature that focused on the social aspect of self-improvement and charity, rather than the religious.[68] On the surface there are numerous plotline similarities between 'The Ill-Used Boy', 'The Powder Monkey', and 'My Friend Smith'; all three narratives juxtapose self-interest and selflessness, carry a strong message of social responsibility, and include at least two significant character transformations. However, their ideologies diverge, as Reed's attempt to provide insight into the hardships of the lower-middle class with an emphasis on self-improvement also culminated in a Christian realisation while Eiloart's fiction

[66] 'My Friend Smith', 3 March 1883, p. 355.
[67] Elizabeth Eiloart (d. 1895) published her work under the name Mrs Eiloart or Mrs C. J. Eiloart.
[68] Elizabeth Eiloart, 'The Ill-Used Boy; or; Lawrence Hartley's Grievances', *BOP*, 1 October 1881, pp. 5-7 (p. 6).

remains centred on a middle-class social responsibility removed from any Christian ideologies. 'The Ill-Used Boy' is a moral coming-of-age story that holds up a mirror to wider social concerns rather than on the miniature world of public school life. Masculinity is a cursory element of the characters' development as the values presented are not gender restricted.

'The Ill-Used Boy' focuses on the importance of goodwill and charity as seen through the relationship between Lawrence and Robert. Both boys are fatherless and are taken into the care of their bachelor uncle, Mr Hartley, who is described as 'a fine old English gentleman [who] was not only hospitable, but generous, kind, and charitable'.[69] The narrative is situated in or around Mr Hartley's London home, a domestic but also homosocial environment, where Mr Hartley personally oversees that his nephews' educational and material needs are provided for. The reader is made aware that Robert and Lawrence attend public school as day students, but the plot does not deal with this aspect of their lives. The contrast between Robert and Lawrence's personalities provides a moral doubling that hinges on selfishness and selflessness. Robert 'seemed frank, open, and good-natured – a little countryfied', his village upbringing suggesting the association made between humble beginnings and modesty.[70] Regardless of his fortunate position under the care of his uncle, he remains uninterested in material wealth and is eager to help those in need. Lawrence, on the other hand, focuses entirely on his own interests and considers himself the subject of injustice when those around him do not validate his interests. This behaviour, according to the narrator, is because 'like a few other people, he was a great deal too well off and did not know it. He was so overdone with good things that he had lost all power of appreciating them'.[71] In the context of 'The Ill-Used Boy', Lawrence undergoes a character transformation by learning the importance of helping others from the example Robert sets with his unwavering sense of moral responsibility.

The second significant character transformation within the text is demonstrated in Tom, a young boy from the East End of London. Tom exemplifies

[69] *Ibid*.
[70] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 15 October 1881, pp. 39-40 (p. 39).
[71] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 1 October 1881, p. 6.

the type of socially 'ill-used boy' who is in need of rescuing from a life of criminality and poverty. Orphaned and without any family to provide moral guidance, Tom is forced to join a rough gang in order to survive. When he is caught during a burglary on Mr Hartley's home his fortune begins to change as rather than having him sent to prison, Mr Hartley insists that Tom be sent to Miss Bransome's home for boys, as 'she would make a man out of him in the best sense of the word, if any one could'.[72] Rescuing Tom is not a lesson on upward-mobility; rather he serves as a reminder that without moral guidance and education the poor would be destined to live a life of crime, squalor, and social dependency. Like Billy in 'My Friend Smith', Tom is also depicted as animal-like, a characterisation that fluctuates throughout the text depending on his proximity to his benefactors.

> Robert looked at the poor, stunted, wretched creature, who had no blessed memories of father and mother to help him on his road, who had never been taught right from wrong, what either sin or goodness meant, and the tears came in his eyes.'[73]

The association made between Tom's physical needs and lack of moral guidance again highlights the importance placed on a stable domestic family environment for optimal childhood development. Dan Bivona and Roger B. Henkle observe: 'Sentimentality attempts to elicit a "communal" emotion, by writing large the feelings of pathos, pity, and compassion.'[74] Robert's response increases the sentimentality of Tom's rescue, but this outward display of emotion does not label him as being childish or unmanly. Rather it demonstrates the sincerity of his sympathy.

Issues of childhood poverty in 'The Ill-Used Boy' are resolved through the replication of familial structures. Elizabeth Thiel observes:

> The myth of home and family that resonated throughout the early part of the century had simultaneously been replicated through popular children's literature to create a template for a world in which father and mother,

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[72] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 29 October 1881, pp. 70-72 (p. 72).
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] Dan Bivona and Roger B. Henkle, *The Imagination of Class: Masculinity and the Urban Poor* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2006), p. 50.

> devoted to the moral and/or spiritual well-being of their offspring, were ever-present and ever-mindful of their duties.[75]

This association between the ideal family home and the moral outcome of a child is seen through the depiction of Tom. Miss Bransome's influence on the manly development of underprivileged boys is through her moral guidance. This is evident in her choice of name for the school, Acorn House. As the narrator observes: 'Human acorns she was always tending there, in the hope that they would ripen into straight, strong trees, instead of noxious human plants'.[76] The analogy made between 'noxious human plants' and the criminality associated with poverty turns the attention back to a middle-class responsibility to provide education and moral instruction to those considered most likely to become a burden on the state. Miss Bransome's objective was to transform rough uneducated city boys into respectable, employable, and productive members of the working class.

> She taught them herself whatever book learning it was best for them to know [. . .] But gutter boys are not the stuff out of which brilliant scholars are made, neither was she anxious that her boys should be such. But she taught them to be honest and truthful, clean and obedient, and, as they grew old enough placed them out in the world.[77]

Her control over the type of education the poor boys in her care received reflect a middle-class sense of superiority in keeping with early nineteenth-century ideas of paternalism.

Both Mr Hartley and Miss Bransome are unmarried and childless, yet they assume parental roles and are actively involved in the support and education of the children taken into their care. Miss Bransome is seen as a nurturing mother figure and is described as having 'a pleasant fresh-coloured face, that, as Bob said to himself, had "mother" written all over it. Mother she was, in the best sense of the word, to those who had never known anything of mothers before'.[78] Mr Hartley is the financial provider and 'was always ready to find places for her boys

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[75] Elizabeth Thiel, *The Fantasy of Family: Nineteenth-century Children's Literature and the Myth of the Domestic Ideal* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), p. 5.
[76] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 5 November 1881, pp. 85-86 (p. 85).
[77] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 29 October 1881, p. 72.
[78] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 5 November 1881, p. 85.

in warehouses, workshops, or service, and he had told her, once for all, whenever she wanted help in money to come to him'.[79] This constructed domestic environment confirms gender roles, with Miss Bransome fulfilling the nurturing role of mother and Mr Hartley as the financial provider. As F. K. Prochaska observes:

> The running of a philanthropic society could be compared to the running of a family: men were to provide the intelligence and direction, women 'the better heart, the truer intuition of the right', and not least the unflagging industry that kept the institution together.[80]

This suggests that the act of philanthropy in the nineteenth century was modelled on a domestic family ideal. In the context of 'The Ill-Used Boy' this domestic framework is specifically employed as a means of transforming boys from the streets into respectable working-class men.

Lawrence does not express the same instinctive desire to help Tom. Instead, he sulks: 'A nice pet for uncle to make! [. . .] Why couldn't he send the little wretch to prison and have done with him?'.[81] But Lawrence expresses greater criticism of Robert:

> 'That fellow isn't fit society for a gentlemen [. . .] There's nothing but low company suits him.' Whenever cook graciously gave him permission, Robert went into the kitchen and talked or read to the poor little sharp-featured creature sitting there; or he would take him up in his arms and carry him into the garden.[82]

Robert's ease of moving between the working-class space of the kitchen and the middle-class space of the garden challenges Lawrence's ideas of what it means to be a gentleman. After a few days spent under the care of Robert, 'Tom was beginning to look almost like a boy, and as if some day not very far off he might be a good one'.[83] This interaction between Robert and Tom again underlines the

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[79] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 29 October 1881, p. 72.
[80] F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 17.
[81] *Ibid*., p. 71.
[82] *Ibid*., p. 72.
[83] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 5 November 1881, p. 85.

connection between charitable work and self-improvement. Anne Rodrick explains:

> [T]he model Smiles described bound self-improvement inextricably to active participation in civic society, elaborating the centrality of informed debate to mid-Victorian public life. Mutual self-improvement and the concurrent participation in this culture of debate not only demonstrated moral worth but also became the primary marker of a new model of popular citizenship.[84]

'The Ill-Used Boy' emphasises this moral exchange by demonstrating how helping others benefits both the receiver and the administrator of charity. Miss Bransome's home for boys exemplifies this, for 'in helping them she grew better and stronger herself. The new work was her best comfort'.[85] Other characters such as Mr Hartley 'took real pleasure in giving' and Robert seems naturally attuned to the needs of others in much the same way as his uncle.[86] Rebecca Bates examines the relationship between philanthropists and their recipients. She notes:

> Rescuing souls was not enough to justify the provision of lodging, clothing, and food. Philanthropists concurred with social reformers who claimed that charity should be distributed only to individuals who were physically incapable of labour, or at a life-stage that excused them from labour: the ill, the old and the young. Children were legitimate recipients of charity because their poverty was not of their own making and they were not responsible for their own livelihood.[87]

While Eiloart's 'The Ill-Used Boy' confirms a natural desire to help others, it also emphasises the prerogative of the philanthropist in choosing the recipients of their charitable aid.

Tom's physical life is saved by the charity administered, but it is the moral rescuing of Lawrence that dominates the text. His concerns are directly related to his cultivation of what he considers gentlemanly behaviour. He 'was always on his

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[84] Anne Rodrick, 'The Importance of Being an Earnest Improver: Class, Caste, and *Self-Help* in Mid-Victorian England', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 29 (2001), 39-50 (p. 39).
[85] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 29 October 1881, p. 72.
[86] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 5 November 1881, p. 85
[87] Rebecca J. Bates, 'Building imperial youth? Reflections on the labour and the construction of working-class childhood in late Victorian England,' *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, 45 (2009), 143-156 (p. 146).

good behaviour with ladies'[88] and 'was rather fond of letting his friends know that he travelled first-class [. . .] while for third-class travellers he professed to have a profound disdain'.[89] Throughout the story, Lawrence demonstrates a condescending attitude towards members of the lower and working classes, viewing Robert's cross-class association with them as another example of him being 'so very primitive'.[90] What Lawrence regards as gentlemanly behaviour makes him behave foolishly as is seen in his fascination with owning a pistol, something he considers to be part of the gentleman's image. 'I do think', said Lawrence, 'that a fellow ought not only to have a pistol, but be taught how to use it. It's a gentlemanly accomplishment, just like Latin and Greek, and firearms are a great protection to the house'.[91] His juvenile impression of what is considered gentlemanly results in a series of mishaps and culminates in his mistakenly shooting and injuring his uncle. Out of shame and self-pity, Lawrence runs away to find his mother who is traveling in Germany. But, having never learned the value of money or frugality, he runs out of money before locating her. Penniless, he is required to rely on the generosity of the peasant folk who take him in and teach him the importance of goodwill and humanity. This again stresses that people at every level of society, not just the wealthy, can administer charity.

The completion of Lawrence's transformation does not occur until he is back in England. When Lawrence sees Tom bedridden and ill 'he forgot that he ever had a grievance in the world'.[92] Tom, who had been taken away from Miss Bransome's by one of the burglars, had been living rough as he was too ashamed to return.

> Tom looked pinched, and thin, and white, while his hand, which lay outside the ragged blanket, was more like a claw than human fingers. The people in the room looked decent working folks, but pinched and poor. Times were hard with weavers just then, and the woman was often ailing, but they were evidently as kind to Tom as their circumstances permitted.[93]

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[88] *Ibid*.
[89] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 8 October 1881, pp. 27-29 (p. 29).
[90] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 22 October 1881, pp. 54-56 (p. 56).
[91] *Ibid*.
[92] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 1 July 1882, pp. 642-643 (p. 643).
[93] *Ibid*.

Tom is not only the beneficiary of Mr Hartley and Miss Bransome's affection and goodwill; his rescuing involves the active participation of an entire community. His development is the product of numerous generous contributions, including finding refuge in the home of a 'decent, though poor' family.[94] These actions are not achieved through an organisation, religious or secular, but are a series of contributions provided by individuals from all levels of society. Seeing Tom's suffering, 'Lawrence looked very unhappy; he had at last found some one with more troubles than his own'.[95] In realising this, his transformation is complete and he becomes an active participant in Tom's rescue.

Removing Tom from an environment of illness and poverty is considered essential to his recovery. As the narrator observes it was 'thanks to good nursing, good doctoring, and good food, Tom got better, as would never have done in the cold and yet close rooms where the boys had found him'.[96] He is rescue is twofold: the immediate restoration of his health and his future class standing. 'Let us hope that we have saved him at least,' said Mr Hartley, 'for something better'.[97] This draws in again the idea that rescuing children from poverty, educating them, and providing them with employment opportunities would transform them into valuable members of society. As Gertrude Himmelfarb writes:

> Whatever was done for the poor was meant to enable them to do more for themselves, to become more self-reliant and more responsible – to bring out, as Green said, their 'better selves.' 'Charity,' wrote the secretary of the Charity Organisation Society, 'is a social regenerator. We have to use Charity to create the power of self-help.'[98]

Core values are shared across the classes with the golden rule of 'Do unto others as you would they should do unto you'.[99] Finally, 'Lawrence [. . .] like Robert, has learned to be so ready to help others over their troubles that he has forgotten

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[94] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 24 June 1882, pp. 621-622 (p. 621).
[95] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 1 July 1882, p. 642.
[96] *Ibid*., p. 643.
[97] *Ibid*.
[98] Gertrude Himmelfarb, 'Age of Philanthropy', *The Wilson Quarterly*, 21 (1997), 48-55 (p. 55).
[99] Wilkie Collins, 'The Victims of Circumstances', *BOP*, 23 October 1886, pp. 57-59 (p. 58).

there ever was a time when he had nothing to do but to think of his own'.[100] Eiloart's use of fictional characters to convey ideas of social responsibility through the transformation of Lawrence pitches a moral lesson directly at the suggested reader of the *Boy's Own Paper*; the middle-class boy who did not require charity, but instead, was in the position to administer it. The philanthropic advantages of this cross-class interaction suggests a social chain of reaction whereby those who have been the subject of charity can in turn inspire their benefactors. This draws the attention back to middle-class values and where the benefit of giving outweighs the benefit of receiving.

A Glimpse into Working-Class Life

Representations of the working-class and poor were frequently provided in *Boy's Own Paper* fiction, as seen above in the works of Kingston, Reed, and Eiloart. Articles that directly addressed the daily lives of working-class boys and men were less frequently published in the paper. The seven-part series 'Half-Hours with Hard Workers' (1886) offered insight into different working-class occupations with each instalment addressing the routines and responsibilities of policemen, firemen, conductors and drivers, cabmen, railway servants, river workers, and scavengers. These articles were written in a straightforward manner and addressed practical work-related issues such as wages, pensions, and disciplinary procedures. The series contained a limited amount of interview material and produced a generic portrait of working-class working environments rather than an in-depth representation of the working-class culture.

Unlike the inspirational biographies of national hero-figures who had risen from humble beginnings, these texts did not perpetuate the message of self-improvement. Instead, they maintained clear class distinctions. In 1899, the *Boy's Own Paper* published an article by Gordon Stables entitled 'A New Year's Letter to Working Lads'. Here Stables directly addressed the working-class reader:

[100] 'The Ill-Used Boy', 8 July 1882, pp. 658-659 (p. 659).

> This article, then, is intended for my real working-bees of boys, whose life, I know for a fact, is hard to bear at times. And although I may be accused sometimes of writing only for school 'chaps' and young Eton 'toffs,' I really have all classes, high and low, in my mind while I give advice.[101]

Articles, such as this, were clearly included in an attempt to make the publication appear inclusive. However, in drawing attention to the fact that these 'working-bees of boys' were different from the idealised middle and upper-class boys that were predominantly featured in the *Boy's Own Paper*, the class divide was even further emphasised.

Articles published in the *Boy's Own Paper* written by working-class contributors were even less common and James Penman's 'The Putter Lad: A Day in the Life of a Pit Boy' (1908) was a rare example of this. The three-paged article took the *Boy's Own Paper* reader on a guided 'tour through the workings' and offered 'good insight into the miner's life'.[102] As Hutchison's editorial note explained:

> The author of this interesting article on the work of a pit boy, is a Durham miner. We give the article almost as it was written, with the author's own illustrations, and we feel sure that 'B.O.P.' readers will be extremely interested in the very vivid insight he gives us into the work that is going on throughout the mining districts every day.[103]

This commentary, intended to authenticate the accuracy of the article's descriptions, emphasised the author's working-class status. Hutchison's need to confirm Penman's writing abilities (without editorial assistance) reiterated the novel quality of this piece furthering the divide between the author and the suggested reader. This social divide was continued in Penman's conclusion.

> And when you get home again you will find an added interest in your cosy fireside, realising far more clearly than you ever did before what a deal of romance surrounds the history of such an ordinary everyday article as a lump of coal.[104]

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[101] Gordon Stables, 'A New Year's Letter to Working Lads', *BOP*, 7 January 1899, pp. 231-232 (p. 231).
[102] James Penman, 'The Putter Lad: A Day in the Life of a Pit Boy', *BOP*, 25 January 1908, pp. 263-265 (p. 265). [James Penman also contributed 'The Pit Pony: Some True Stories of His Life' (1908).]
[103] *Ibid*., p. 263.
[104] *Ibid*., p. 265.

This 'parting' between author and reader confirmed the educational purpose of this text to familiarise the middle-class reader with his working-class counterpart. Both 'Half-Hours With Hard Workers' and 'The Putter Lad' offered a glimpse into the working-class life, but neither of these texts suggested the boys and men portrayed might pursue ambitions beyond their current occupation. These representations were not intended to inspire notions of upward mobility, nor were they meant to elucidate on the working man's culture or code of masculinity. Instead, the working-class man was subsumed by his profession's contribution to wider society and, therefore, confirming his fixed position within a social hierarchy. This was still in keeping with the paper's self-help message since, as Asa Briggs explains, self-help 'was an expression of character even when it did not ensure – even, indeed, when it did not offer – a means of success'.[105] Therefore, the working-class man demonstrated his strength in character by accepting his pre-determined role in society.

The *Boy's Own Paper* more frequently published articles on the daily lives of working-class boys in the London area. 'The New Working Lads' Institute in Whitechapel' (1886) 'Institutions for Boys' (1892-1893), and 'Homes for Working Boys' (1905) all focused the importance of education and self-help. They also emphasised the contribution of philanthropic individuals and organisations in the development and maintenance of these institutions. The series 'Institutions for Boys' (1892-1893), published in four parts, looked at the Gordon's Boys' Home, Homes for Working Boys in London, and the choir schools of St Paul's and Westminster Abbey. Each instalment described the working ethos of the institution and contained a full-page illustration depicting various aspects daily life. Images of dormitories, dining halls, reading rooms, and gymnasiums emphasised the healthy advantages of communal living. The final two instalments of the series looked at St. Pauls Cathedral and Westminster Abbey Choir Schools where 'boys are mostly the sons of professional men, and their education is such as

[105] Asa Briggs, 'Samuel Smiles: The Gospel of Self-Help', in *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society*, ed. by Gordon Marsden, 2nd ed (Abingdon: Routledge, 1998), pp. 101-114 (p. 103).

is given in preparation for the public school'.[106] These larger schools included public schools and, whereas the other articles in the series looked at working-class institutions, these instalments on the choir schools focused the attention back to the idealised establishments of elite education. This juxtaposition was an unusual instance in which a factual series intersected such contrasting class divides. It not only demonstrated the middle-class ideal of providing education for all levels of society, it also reminded the reader of this hierarchy. The principles of education could be distributed across the class spectrum, but access to public school was reserved for those from the upper echelons of society.

The 'Homes for Working Boys in London' was comprised of 'eight separate homes [. . .] established in different parts of London' and was operated on a domestic model.[107]

> They are homes, with as much home life as possible, for boys out at work during the day; the boys leaving in the morning, and generally taking their dinners with them to their places of occupation, and returning at night to tea, social intercourse, recreation, and bed.[108]

These residences were further described as being built upon family values: 'Here is a home worked on home lines, with the superintendent and matron as father and mother of an abnormally large family'.[109] This attempt to replicate a domestic environment is reminiscent of Eiloart's description of Miss Bransome and Mr Hartley's management of 'Acorn House' in 'The Ill-Used Boy'. Both institutions appropriated traditional British family values as a means of creating the stability required to send their residents 'on the road to manly independence and godly life'.[110] The purpose of these institutions was more than merely providing room and board, it was about moral instruction, as affirmed by Earl of Aberdeen: '[they] constitute a guarantee for good order and good citizenship. To make a good Christian is to make him a good citizen'.[111] The emphasis on citizenship and

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[106] Anon, 'Institutions for Boys: Choir Schools', *BOP*, 25 March 1893, pp. 412-414 (p. 412).
[107] Anon, 'Institutions for Boys: Homes for Working Boys', *BOP*, 17 December 1892, pp. 188-190 (p. 188).
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] *Ibid*., p. 190.
[110] *Ibid.*
[111] *Ibid*., p. 188.

keeping order was also another means of training these boys to accept their position within society. This aim was expressed more bluntly by Dr Donald Fraser, who observed that organisations like the Homes for Working Boys in London were a 'Christian, philanthropic, social, and an economic blessing; the lads being prevented from growing up to be pests to society'.[112] For people like Fraser, the working-class boy (and man) should not merely accept their allocated role in society, they should also blend into the overall image of the British social hierarchy.

In addition to being subsidised by philanthropic individuals, many of these organisations, including Homes for Working Boys and The Working Lads' Institute, required a monthly fee. The aim was to help a boy 'to support himself at the moderate charges made for his board and lodging; to feed himself, to clothe himself, and to put a little in the savings' bank'.[113] This supported the idea that monetary contribution was an integral part of maturation and self-improvement. Hugh B. Philpott's 'Homes for Working Boys' (1905) reiterated the importance of helping poor and working-class boys achieve their potential, writing: 'if he has a good character and is able and willing to work [. . .] he will soon have his foot firmly planted on the ladder which leads to an independent and self-respecting manhood'.[114] Most importantly, articles discussing homes for boys stressed the important role these organisations played in the construction and maintenance of an ordered society. Philpott's 'A Boy's Life in a Workhouse School' (1902) advised that boys who attend institutions such as the Poplar School 'have a far better chance of becoming healthy, sober, intelligent, self-respecting citizens than was the case with the inmates of the same institutions a generation ago'.[115] This is evidenced a few pages over with a brief article 'From Workhouse to Civic Chair: A "B.O.P." Chat with the Mayor of Poplar'. The mayor, Mr Crook, had lived in the Poplar workhouse as a child and had risen to become the mayor of the town.

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[112] *Ibid*.
[113] *Ibid.*
[114] Hugh B. Philpott, 'Homes for Working Boys', *BOP*, 16 September 1905, pp. 811-814 (p. 812).
[115] Hugh B. Philpott, 'A Boy's Life in a Workhouse School', *BOP*, 1 March 1902, pp. 346-348 (p. 348).

Returning to the 'Institutions for Boys' series, it becomes clear that even amongst the discussion on homes for boys there existed a hierarchy of popularity. The degree of attention awarded to the Gordon Boys' Home offers an example of this 'special treatment' to high-profile institutions.

> No institution in this country is more known by name, or better known by reputation for the work it does with its limited means. It is one of the few places where lads are taken in hand at that difficult age when they are too old for school and too young for self-supporting work, which a few of them may have sought in vain.[116]

Established in 1885 as a national memorial to General Charles Gordon, the objective of the home was to take disadvantaged boys from rough, unruly backgrounds and transform them into respectable citizens by providing them with the necessary discipline and education. The home, which functioned on a military model, was described by the *Boy's Own Paper* as 'the ideal of a home for young soldiers or colonists constructed in such close resemblance to a barrack that no boy could, on becoming a soldier, feel otherwise than at home when first entering his regimental quarters'.[117] In addition to preparing boys for the military, the residents were provided the opportunity to learn a trade such as carpentry, blacksmithing, or cooking. These life skills were intended to enable the boys to be self-sufficient upon leaving the home.

The home received much attention in the press and daily papers, such as *The Morning Post* and *The Pall Mall Gazette*, which emphasised the social contribution these homes made on the poorer members of society. Queen Victoria was a patron of the home and the council included: the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Governor of the Bank of England, the V. C. of Oxford University, and Alfred Lord Tennyson. Contributions were donated by: the Khedive of Egypt, the King of the Belgians, the Chinese Government, Church of England Waifs and Strays Society, The Society of the Prevention of Cruelty Children, and the Schoolboys of Eton, Harrow, Hailebury, and Christ's Hospital. Famous visitors to the home included the Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Albert Victor who made his first formal

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[116] 'Institutions for Boys', 29 October 1892, p. 76.
[117] *Ibid*., p. 77.

engagement a visit to the Gordon Boys' Home, an event which was applauded in a letter from Florence Nightingale.

> Mr. F. W. Verdey, secretary to the committee of the Gordon Boys' Home, read a letter from Miss Florence Nightingale, speaking in very high terms of the noble character of General Gordon, and expressing her delight that our young Prince has at the commencement of his public life associated himself with so highly a philanthropic an object.[118]

This use of celebrity endorsement drew attention to the philanthropist and away from the beneficiary, once again removing those considered less fortunate to the margins.

Charity in Action

Altruism was often at the centre of *Boy's Own Paper* literature and, while under the editorship of Hutchison, the publication frequently organised its own charitable projects and encouraged its readers to participate in the fundraising for these causes. The outpouring of tributes following General Gordon's death in Khartoum in January 1885 was reflected in the *Boy's Own Paper*'s creation of 'The "Boy's Own" Gordon Memorial Fund'. 'Ours is essentially a BOYS' Memorial', the *Boy's Own Paper* explained, 'intended to be essentially representative of British boyhood – a memorial raised by boys for boys, in fond memory of a noble boy-lover'.[119] The fund was created to honour the fallen hero with the objective that 'The proceeds will be wholly applied in accordance to Gordon's own wishes, that is, for the benefit of poor boys'.[120] In the same year, the *Boy's Own Paper* published a short piece entitled 'Heroic Self-Sacrifice' (1885) in which the military actions of Gordon in Khartoum were compared with that of Marcus Atilius Regulus, the Roman general who sacrificed his life for the sake of his countrymen in an act of 'noble manhood and unselfish heroism'.[121] Similarly: 'The conduct of General Gordon in the last days of the siege of Khartoum displays a heroism as unselfish and virtue as

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[118] Anon, 'Prince Albert Victor and the Gordon Boys' Home', *The Morning Post*, 31 August 1886, p. 5. *19th Century British Newspapers* [accessed 7 January 2016]
[119] Anon, 'The "Boy's Own" Gordon Memorial Fund', *BOP*, 9 May 1885, p. 511.
[120] Anon, 'The "Boy's Own" Gordon Memorial Fund', *BOP*, 25 April 1885, p. 479.
[121] Anon, 'Heroic Self-Sacrifice', *BOP,* 14 March 1885, p. 383.

pure as that of Regulus [. . .] By this act alone he has won undying fame'.[122] Situating Gordon within a historical tradition of bravery and chivalry confirmed his lasting legacy within the pantheon of great military heroes.

However, the increasing focus of imperial militarism seen in the hero-worship Gordon received in the *Boy's Own Paper* seemed to contradict the paper's original policy of refusing to publish overtly militaristic literature. The paper acknowledged this was a concern for certain groups.

> Then, some one having expressed a fear lest Gordon's fame should induce warlike sentiments in our boys – and there are some good people who never by any chance do anything in the world but express fears and otherwise distribute wet blankets – one of the leading religious journals replies that though possibly there may be some slight danger in this direction, there is happily a more than usually bright 'other side'.[123]

The paper dismissed these fears, justifying Gordon's military efforts based on his strong Christian beliefs. As Robert MacDonald observes: 'Gordon came to epitomise both Christian martyr and serving soldier [. . .] In his person Gordon carried – and as symbol seemed to resolve – the tension between evangelical morality and military spirit; he could be all things to all men'.[124] This resolution of tension within the *Boy's Own Paper*'s was particularly significant as by depicting Gordon as the embodiment of contemporary Christian masculinity the paper demonstrated an increasing need to accept military intervention as a part of expanding and securing the British Empire.

This change in the *Boy's Own Paper*'s attitude towards the endorsement of military warfare was later reiterated in the *Boy's Own Paper* in an article entitled 'Some Heroic Deeds' (1896).

> The best type of our soldiers – men true as steel to duty's call – have always been the most religious, as some of our greatest leaders have over and over again; and the worst have been the most pagan. It would be a very easy talk to quote the words of famous Christian warriors who, while amongst the bravest lion-hearted men, have yet regarded war as but a last desperate

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[122] *Ibid*.
[123] Anon, 'The "Boy's Own" Gordon Memorial Fund', *BOP*, 16 May 1885, p. 527.
[124] Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 83.

> remedy against wrong and injustice – a terrible and cruel necessity, for which Christ's teaching was the only hopeful remedy.[125]

Despite the *Boy's Own Paper*'s open change in attitude towards the hero-worship of military figures, articles such as this suggested that there were supporters/readers of the publication who were still wary of this glorification. These concerns were also evident in the response to the '"Boy's Own" Gordon Memorial Fund'. The *Boy's Own Paper* had hoped to raise enough money to build a '"Boy's Own" Memorial Home of Rest for Poor Boys', however by March of 1889 it was clear that enthusiasm for the project had waned and the paper announced: 'As the practical interest of our readers in this Fund appears to have considerably lessened'.[126]

Instead, it was decided that the money raised should be put towards an already established cause and 'DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES were fixed upon as the most suitable in connection with which to found our "Boy's Own" Memorial'.[127] Despite the publicity the Gordon Fund received in the media, the campaign did not raise the same amount of money as seen with previous *Boy's Own Paper* fundraising. Samuel G. Green, in his book *The Story of the Religious Tract Society* (1899), noted:

> In practical philanthropy the *B.O.P.* has done good work. It has provided two lifeboats for the National Lifeboat Institution at the cost of £1,200, and handed £400 to the London Hospital, and £750 for the 'Ward' at Dr. Barnardo's Homes.[128]

The most successful of these campaigns, as Green noted, was 'The "Boy's Own" Lifeboat Fund'. Following R. M. Ballantyne's seven-part series 'Battles with the Sea; or, Heroes of the Lifeboat and Rocket' (1881), in which he described 'the work and value of our noble British Lifeboat', the *Boy's Own Paper* spent the following

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[125] Anon, 'Some Heroic Deeds', *BOP*, 23 May 1896, pp. 536-537 (p. 536).
[126] Anon, 'Wanted – A Strong Pull and a Pull Altogether: The "Boy's Own" Gordon Memorial', *BOP*, 23 March 1889, p. 397.
[127] Anon, '"The "Boy's Own" Gordon Memorial Fund', *BOP*, 23 March 1889, pp. 397-398 (p. 398).
[128] Samuel G. Green, *The Story of the Religious Tract Society for One Hundred Years* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1899), p. 24.

two years collecting funds for the purchase of two lifeboats.[129] Founded in 1824, the Royal National Lifeboat Institution was (and still is) a highly regarded charity known for saving thousands of lives.[130] The Royal National Lifeboat Institution was financed through charitable donations and fundraising drives were regularly organised to support its efforts. During the campaign, the paper published the names of contributors, many of which were individuals (male and female) and school groups.

The response was so generous that the funds raised exceeded the cost of the lifeboats and according to the *Boy's Own Paper*: 'On July 21st we sent to the London Hospital a cheque for £400 as a first donation from the readers of the BOY'S OWN PAPER'.[131] The extra money was then donated to the 'Children's Wing' of the London Hospital where 'our readers could visit the little sufferers, there they could send their surplus toys and books, and thither would the results of many of our Prize Competitions'.[132] In response to this new project, the *Boy's Own Paper* published a poem entitled 'The "Boy's Own" Cot' (1882). The final two stanzas read:

> Ah, boys! you can't do a better deed
> Than lending your succour to those in need:
> Compare Jack's bed in the dismal spot
> With this clean-kept ward with its snow-white cot.
>
> With good food and the care of the skilful nurse
> There's a chance to grow better instead of worse;
> Let us hope that many a weary young head
> Will find pillows are soft in the B.O.P. Bed![133]

[129] Anon, 'The "Boy's Own" Lifeboat Fund', *BOP*, 28 May 1881, pp. 567-568 (p. 567). [The first boat, named *Boy's Own*, was stationed in Looe, Cornwall; the second boat was stationed in Poole, Dorset.]
[130] In 1879 the RNLI claimed to have saved over 26,000 lives since its establishment in 1824. See 'Royal National Lifeboat Institution', *The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (West Yorkshire, England), 19 March 1879, p. 4.
[131] Anon, 'Boy's Own Hospital Cot', *BOP*, 16 September 1882, p. 815.
[132] Anon, 'Special Notice', *BOP*, 28 January 1882, p. 295.
[133] Anon, 'The "Boy's Own" Cot', *BOP*, 2 December 1882, p. 135.

The responsibility to help the poor is placed upon the *Boy's Own Paper* reader and the religious language suggests that in removing the poor from their 'dismal spot' they undergo a redemptive baptism that will give them a new life.

In addition to these donations, the *Boy's Own Paper* was also involved in larger projects, several of which focused on providing housing and care for disadvantaged boys.[134] According to Patrick Dunae: 'The paper contributed to the support of no less than a dozen institutions, including Dr Barnardo's Homes, the Ragged Schools, the Homes for Working Boys, various orphanages, industrial schools, and training ships'.[135] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the *Boy's Own Paper* regularly donated prize competition entries to Dr Barnardo's Homes and to overseas missionaries to distribute to the underprivileged children in their care. In 1884, a brief editorial column informed readers: 'Competitors in the previous Model Locomotive and Illuminating Competitions may be glad to know that their handiwork was sent, as a gift from the BOY'S OWN PAPER, to the Stockwell Orphanage and to Dr. Barnardo's Homes'.[136] Later that year, a further editorial column noted: 'a number of the illuminated texts are at the time we write on their way to the well-known missionary ship Harmony, to Labrador, for distribution amongst the Esquimaux as a gift from our readers'.[137] However, by turning prize competition entries into charitable donations, the *Boy's Own Paper* made a clear distinction between primary and secondary readers. Primary readers were those who could afford an up-to-date subscription, which was required for competition entry eligibility, in addition to the cost of buying appropriate materials required for the project, and the postage to send entries to the paper. Secondary readers were those who could not afford their own copies of the *Boy's Own Paper* and who generally had irregular access to the publication through second-hand copies made available via charitable donations. These donations, based on the economic divisions of its readers, reinforced a social hierarchy within the *Boy's Own Paper*.

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[134] Hutchison's dedication to helping disadvantaged boys was demonstrated in his personal life. When he died in 1913, he left his house 'Ivybank' in Leytonstone, London to be made into a boys' home.
[135] Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', p. 154.
[136] Anon, 'Our Prize Competitions', *BOP*, 29 March 1884, p. 415.
[137] Anon, 'Our Prize Competitions', *BOP*, 16 August 1884, p. 725.

The Royal Humane Society Medal

In addition to organising charitable fundraising through the *Boy's Own Paper*, the publication also celebrated acts of selflessness and bravery in everyday life. As John Price observes: 'The term everyday heroism refers to acts of life-risking bravery, undertaken by otherwise ordinary individuals, largely in the course of their daily lives and within quotidian surroundings'.[138] The *Boy's Own Paper* regularly acknowledged within its editorial columns individuals or groups of individuals who had gone out of their way to help someone in need. Rescue from drowning was the most commonly recognised act of heroism and many of these boys had been awarded The Royal Humane Society Medal.[139] The act of naming these heroic boys emphasised the value placed on everyday heroism, bringing to mind Thomas Carlyle's question: 'why may not every one of us be a Hero?'.[140]

In 1879, 'requested by the editor,' then Royal Humane Society Secretary, Lambton Young, wrote:

> I purpose telling the story, not of unapproachable heroes of past ages or boys of peculiar abilities or exceptional opportunities, but simply of lads of our own time and condition, and of this busy, ordinary, work-a-day world. Such stories will need no embellishment – will they? They ought to speak for themselves.[141]

The article continued with the acknowledgement of several instances where boys were awarded medals by the Society for their successful, or attempted, rescues. The prevailing display of bravery was depicted through the act of rescuing someone from drowning. This tied in with the publication's admiration for the selfless heroes who volunteered for the Royal National Lifeboat Institution. The *Boy's Own Paper* also included photographs of boys who had won Royal Humane Society awards. 'Boys Who Have Gained the Medal of the Royal Humane Society,

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[138] John Price, *Everyday Heroism: Victorian Constructions of the Heroic Civilian* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), p. 2.
[139] The Royal Humane Society was founded in 1774 as 'The Society for the Recovery of Persons Apparently Drowned'.
[140] Carlyle, p. 118.
[141] Lambton Young, 'Youthful Honours Bravely Won', *BOP*, 18 January 1879, p. 14.

and Why' (1900), provided portraits photographs of eight young men who had received awards.[142] The reason behind the vast attention given to the subject was the potential self-sacrifice individuals made through these acts of bravery. W. B. Northrop, writing on The Life-Saving Society, noted: 'Saving human life under any circumstances is noble work; but, where surrounding conditions make necessary the risk of the rescuer's own life in the attempt, there is no higher order of human effort'.[143] These risks were often fatal and, as a result, the *Boy's Own Paper* published numerous articles that demonstrated important rescue techniques, including 'Boys and Swimming; or, The Life-Saving Society – Its Work and Methods' (1899). Accompanied by illustrations by T. Peddie, the article provided practical advice and demonstrated different techniques used in rescuing a drowning person during various conditions. 'Life-Saving From Drowning: An Art Worth Acquiring' by H. Collins, Hon Instructor to Royal Life-Saving Society also provided practical information and included illustrative photographs.[144]

The importance of these acts of selflessness was even noted in Hutchison's memorial to Talbot Baines Reed: 'young Reed, when hardly seventeen, was awarded the medal of the Royal Humane Society for pluckily saving his cousin [. . .] on the coast of Londonderry'.[145] And Thomas Hughes discussed the social significance of being honoured by the Royal Humane Society in *The Manliness of Christ* (1880).

> Now the possession of the medal does amount to *primâ facie* evidence, not only of animal courage but of manliness; for it can only be won by an act involving not only persistency and contempt of pain and danger, but self-sacrifice for the welfare of an other.[146]

In the same issue of the 'Putter Lad', the *Boy's Own Paper* published a short column, with accompanying photograph, entitled 'A Crippled Hero Rewarded'. The hero

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[142] Anon, 'Boys Who Have Gained the Medal of the Royal Humane Society, and Why', *BOP*, 22 December 1900, pp. 190-191 (p. 190).
[143] W. B. Northrop, 'Boys and Swimming; or, The Life-Saving Society – Its Work and Methods', *BOP*, 4 November 1899, pp. 73-77 (p. 73).
[144] H. Collins, 'Life-Saving From Drowning: An Art Worth Acquiring', *BOP,* 11 April 1908 and 18 April 1908.
[145] Hutchison, 'The Late Mr. Talbot Baines Reed', p. 328.
[146] Thomas Hughes, *The Manliness of Christ* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1880), p. 19.

was John Rudkin, a fourteen-year-old boy who saved two brothers from drowning in the Thames. Despite having 'lost full use of his right arm [he] plunged in to their rescue and succeeded', an action that awarded him a Royal Human Society certificate.[147] What was significant about the *Boy's Own Paper* recognising these acts of selflessness was that it was an instance in which boys, regardless of class, were celebrated on equal terms.

Conclusion

It is evident that the message of self-help and philanthropy dominated much of the literature published in the *Boy's Own Paper*. Themes of perseverance, industry, and integrity became interchangeable, as the paper was eager to disseminate middle-class morality to its readers. Fictional stories, biographies, and true-life accounts of heroism perpetuated an idealised image of masculinity that exhibited moral strength, the desire to improve, and a willingness to help those in need. These texts demonstrated that people from all levels of society were capable of, and encouraged to perform, acts of selflessness and goodwill. For the middle-class reader, this meant undertaking a moral and social responsibility to help raise up the poor and disadvantaged to a level of respectability. And for the lower and working-class reader, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s self-help message emphasised a personal responsibility to accept one's place within a social hierarchy.

The literature studied in this chapter addressed the *Boy's Own Paper*'s response to contemporary social issues that were taking place in Britain at the time. Many of these texts considered the plight of the urban boy and offered examples of the ways in which this growing demographic could achieve the education that would enable them to become respectable members of society. The publication encouraged readers to support organisations such as Dr Barnardo's Homes and Gordon's Boy's Home. Non-fiction articles, including 'Institutions for Boys: Homes for Working Boys' and 'Homes for Working Boys', praised these well-structured establishments for being modelled on Victorian family values.

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[147] Anon, 'A Crippled Hero Rewarded', *Boy's Own Paper*, 25 January 1908, p. 271.

Representations of boys' homes also featured in fictional literature and Acorn House in 'The Ill-Used Boy' once again reflected a domestic ideal, with Miss Bransome and Mr Hartley functioning as surrogate parents to orphaned city boys. In most cases, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s depictions of charitable organisations focused on the merits of the institutions rather than directly addressing those who benefited from these charities.

In contrast, the *Boy's Own Paper* published numerous biographical accounts of famous men who had achieved remarkable achievements despite having come from what was considered 'humble beginnings'. However, as we have seen, many of the men used to exemplify the self-help message were from respectable and even affluent backgrounds. Although these articles were intended to inspire its readers, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s emphasis on fame rather than progression somewhat diluted the overall self-help message. Examples of extreme upward mobility were uncommon, and the *Boy's Own Paper*'s biographical accounts of Stanley demonstrated the difficulties in accurately representing the harsh realities that men from poor backgrounds experienced in childhood and adolescence. In the case of Stanley, the paper avoided dealing with the difficult issues of his past and focused on the positive aspects of his achieved self-improvement. This approach confirmed the stigma still associated with poverty. Fictional representations of extreme upward mobility and Kingston's 'From Powder Monkey to Admiral' offered a rare example of this through the character Bill Rayner. While the qualities Bill exhibits in the story are congruous with the self-help message, the degree of his success was so dramatic that readers were reminded that such events were unlikely to occur in the nineteenth-century.

For the most part, self-help narratives resulted in the restoration of traditionally accepted social roles and boundaries. Reed's 'My Friend Smith' is a primary example of this as both Jack and Fred regain their middle-class status through education and employment. As Jack moves up, regaining his middle-class status, he recognises the potential of Billy, the young shoeblack, and helps him improve his situation. And finally, the return of Jack's father delivers a message of Christian repentance and forgiveness. These characters offer a variety of

hardships, both self-inflicted and inherited, all of which are resolved through various forms of self-help. The story's final image is that of the reinstatement of a middle-class family structure.

The *Boy's Own Paper*'s Christian message was most evident in its emphasis on social responsibility. However, it is through its depictions of self-help and the distribution of charity that we encounter some of the most conflicting messages. Aspirational literature communicated the ideologies of self-help and self-improvement but hesitated to offer what it considered unrealistic representations of upward mobility. The publication's use of authorial interjections was commonly employed to establish adult authority within the text. This power dynamic between the adult author and the juvenile reader was also translated into middle-class instruction to the lower and working-class reader. It taught that while the desire to improve was an admirable quality of Britishness, class distinctions were crucial to the preservation of an efficient and successful society.

The *Boy's Own Paper*'s perpetuation of a class hierarchy is one of the most problematic aspects of the publication. Whereas the paper wanted to provide literature that inspired its readers to live healthy and purposeful lives, it also drew clear lines between classes by developing a hierarchy of readership. As discussed in Chapter 1, the paper's requirement that those entering the prize competitions must be regular subscribers to the publication ostracised the very readers the RTS was trying to reach. Instead of addressing this issue or allowing for compensations, the paper happily recorded charitable acts that included the donation of the *Boy's Own Paper* to organisations such as Dr Barnardo's Homes. This message of class hierarchies also translated into levels of masculinity. As seen with recipients of The Royal Humane Medal, acts of self-less bravery were demonstrated at every level of society. However, in literature dealing with the nation's defence, it was clearly the hero built on the public schoolboy model that was in control. The *Boy's Own Paper* wanted to deliver a message of self-help to all its readers, but in doing so also drew clear lines between classes by developing a hierarchy of readership and masculinity.

Chapter 4
Adventure Literature and the British Imperial Imagination

There is an Empire of the earth
Which every zone embraces,
And you and I are heirs by birth
Of all its leagues and races.
But we that Empire must sustain;
By dint of grit and nerve and brain,
Enhance its record splendid;
For, when the boys of British breed
Run rioting to waste and weed,
This Empire's day is ended!

A. B. Cooper, *Boy's Own Paper* (1905)[1]

As the youngest reader is perhaps aware, the East is far
less progressive than the West.

Anon, *Boy's Own Paper* (1883)[2]

Introduction

The *Boy's Own Paper* promoted a brand of British masculinity that was modelled on the core values of chivalry, sportsmanship, self-help, and philanthropy, as discussed in the preceding chapters. This chapter addresses the ways in which masculine ideologies were transported to the wider British Empire in order to deal with the anxieties surrounding political, economic, and colonial expansion. These tropes were not unique to the *Boy's Own Paper* as authors during this time, such as Joseph Conrad, H. Rider Haggard, and Rudyard Kipling dealt with these tensions in their writings, thus making the subject of Empire an integral part of the masculine adventure narrative. George L. Mosse observes: 'The masculine stereotype was strengthened [. . .] by the existence of a negative stereotype of men who not only failed to measure up to the ideal but who in body and soul were its foil, projecting

[1] A. B. Cooper, 'There is a Breed of Mighty Men', *BOP*, 28 October 1905, p. 59.
[2] Anon, 'Slavery As It Was and Is: The Heroes of Abolition', *BOP*, 27 January 1883, pp. 283-287 (p. 286).

the exact opposite of true masculinity'.[3] The idealised image of the British hero-figure was further enforced by the paper's depiction of what it considered unmanly, characteristics that were predominantly exhibited in the paper's representation of the British man's real and fictional foreign counterpart.

The *Boy's Own Paper* regularly expressed xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners who threatened British values as briefly discussed in Chapter 2 with T. S. Millington's treatment of the German schoolboy, Meyer, in 'Some of our Fellows'. Whereas Meyer represented an outsider nation threatening British values and identity within a domestic environment, adventure literature exported that fear of the foreign Other to the colonial landscape. Within that setting, the masculine image of the British adventurer and coloniser was further enforced by the condescending and prejudiced view taken in characterising the Other. As Abdul R. JanMohamed writes:

> While the surface of each colonialist text purports to represent specific encounters with specific varieties of the racial Other, the subtext valorizes the superiority of European cultures, of the collective process that has mediated that representation. Such literature is essentially specular: instead of seeing the native as a bridge toward syncretic possibility, it uses him as a mirror that reflects the colonialist's self-image.[4]

More specifically, the *Boy's Own Paper* reflected a masculine British 'colonialist's self-image'.

This chapter also considers how the paper's characterisation of the foreign Other enforced racial stereotypes and strengthened an Anglocentric perspective of national identity and power. As Edward Said observes: 'Englishness is always constructed in opposition to others; European others, indigenous others, colonised others. This opposition, developed as a simplistic superior/inferior dichotomy, is manifest in a wide variety of literary discourses throughout the nineteenth century.'[5] The adventure fiction, travel narratives, and missionary testimonials

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[3] George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996), p. 14.
[4] Abdul R. JanMohamed, 'The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature', *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985), 59–87 (p. 65).
[5] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 7.

published in the *Boy's Own Paper* were predominantly based on a similar Manichean dichotomy. Many of these texts stressed the factual accuracy of their representations of the foreign landscape, but their descriptions were constructed on preconceived notions of the foreign Other and failed to engage directly with the cultural heritage of the nations they explored. Said offers some guidance to help analyse the tensions fostered between the archetypal British hero-figure and the negatively typecast foreign Other. He writes: 'The things to look at are style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances, *not* the correctness of the representation nor its fidelity to some great original.'[6] Following Said's advice, this chapter studies the *Boy's Own Paper*'s adventure literature, not as accurate portrayals of the foreign Other, but as representations of nineteenth-century British cultural ideologies that were built on conflicting views of Christian responsibility, hierarchies of civilisation, and imperial subjugation.

G. A. Henty: Exploring East Africa

Richard Phillips notes: 'Adventure stories constructed a space in which imperial geographies and imperial masculinities were conceived.'[7] The writing of G. A. Henty, one of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s most celebrated authors, clearly demarcated the style of imperialist ideology popularised within late nineteenth-century adventure fiction. Patrick Dunae observes: 'Henty romanticised the exploits of empire builders and fanned the patriotic ardour of impressionable youth.'[8] Henty's style of adventure fiction offered an imperial discourse that exalted the physical masculinity of its British protagonists and justified the violence towards and exploitation of their foreign counterparts. Revathi Krishnaswamy considers: 'The cult of masculinity rationalized imperial rule by equating an aggressive, muscular, chivalric model of manliness with racial, national, cultural, and moral

[6] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 21.
[7] Richards Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 12.
[8] Patrick Dunae, 'New Grub Street', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. by Jeffrey Richards (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1989), pp. 12-33 (p. 13).

superiority.'[9] Even though his characters did uphold the generic *Boy's Own Paper* qualities of manliness, such as strength of character, bravery, and honesty, their behaviour within the colonial setting contrasted significantly with the depiction of masculinity in the publication's school stories and non-fiction literature set in England. Rather than focusing on education and social responsibility, Henty's hero-figures were motivated by power and economic success.

In 1896, Henty provided the *Boy's Own Paper* with a short series entitled 'The Life of a Special Correspondent' in which he recounted his experience serving in the Hospital Commissariat in the Crimea and his subsequent profession as a war correspondent and journalist. The series provided insight and offered general advice on the skills and training required to become a special correspondent. Furthermore, Henty's experience as a journalist enforced his authorial credibility and perpetuated the macho ideal of British imperialism. 'Firsthand experience', writes Laurence Kitzan, 'was undoubtedly an asset in adding a note of authenticity to the works of the writers [. . .] a selling point that the publishers were not reluctant to exploit'.[10] Many contributors to the *Boy's Own Paper*, including Henty, R. M. Ballantyne, and David Ker, were well-travelled men who often drew on their personal experiences when writing fiction. Michelle Elleray observes: 'Adventure tales in the *Boy's Own Paper* regularly invoked historical practise or events in fictional stories [. . .] Should fiction be published, a basis in fact was preferred'.[11] The apparent need to legitimise fiction within the *Boy's Own Paper*, particularly when it came to depictions of travel and exploration, resulted in the blurring of fact and fiction. The author's experience was, therefore, used to enforce the stereotypes associated with the foreign Other.

In her book *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism Through Children's Books and Magazines*, Kathryn Castle considers how this distortion of genres influenced domestic opinions of the wider British Empire. She writes:

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[9] Revathi Krishnaswamy, *Effeminism: the Economy of Colonial Desire* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), p. 15.
[10] Laurence Kitzan, *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-Colored Vision* (London: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 38.
[11] Michelle Elleray, 'Imperial Authority and Passivity in the South Pacific: George Manville Fenn's "The Blackbird Trap"', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 47 (2014), 319-343 (p. 320).

> The 'crossover' between these two worlds, of school texts and leisure pursuits, was a common occurrence and helped to blur and merge the function of 'instruction' and 'entertainment'. In a sense both worked together to fashion an Empire for the young. For the youngest pupils there was little difference between the stories in their readers and the papers or annuals they might read for pleasure. Stories by popular adventure writers appeared in both, and it was not uncommon for fiction writers to turn their hand, like Kipling and Henty, to the history textbook.[12]

However, Henty's reputation for creating literature based on factual information has often been subjected to criticism. According to Robert Huttenback, 'Henty based his adventures on the actual facts of history', but that he also 'borrowed, with an abandon frequently close to plagiarism'.[13] As a result, Huttenback continues, 'His historical background was thus often inaccurate'.[14] Therefore, the 'crossover' between fact and fiction found in Henty's work demonstrated how historical inaccuracies and misconceptions were circulated throughout literature, disseminating prejudiced interpretations of events and inculcating a sense of British colonial entitlement that was reinforced by negative racial stereotypes.

Henty's nine-part serial 'The Fetish Hole: A Story of East Africa' (1896) perpetuated this imperialist hierarchy. The story begins with two teenage brothers, Lionel and Dacre who, in order to help provide financial security for their widowed mother and their younger sisters, decide to leave England and join their uncle aboard his trading ship, the *Antelope*. In part, the brothers' decision to learn their uncle's trade is out of necessity, but their motivation is further encouraged by the possibility of locating an undiscovered diamond mine. The boys' uncle, Captain Gilbert, outlines the risks involved in the venture, warning them that East Africa 'is not a country for enjoyment, the natives are treacherous, and the Arabs rogues and scoundrels [. . .] Still, there is money to be made there'.[15] Unlike the majority of *Boy's Own Paper* fiction, which emphasised self-improvement through education, 'The Fetish Hole' centres on the pursuit of financial success through trade and

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[12] Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism Through Children's Books and Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 6.
[13] Robert A. Huttenback, 'G. A. Henty and the Imperial Stereotype', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 29 (1965), 63-75 (p. 64).
[14] *Ibid*.
[15] G. A. Henty, 'The Fetish Hole: A Story of East Africa', *BOP*, 3 October 1896, pp. 1-3 (p. 2).

exploration. As depicted in the public school story, adventure literature addressed masculinity within predominantly homosocial environments. John Tosh observes:

> Becoming a man involved detaching oneself from the home and its feminine comforts. It required a level of material success in the wider world which was so often represented in threatening and alienating terms. And it depended on the recognition of manhood by one's peers in an atmosphere which had as much to do with competition as with camaraderie.[16]

Lionel and Dacre leave their mother and sisters to join their uncle and once again the coming-of-age experience takes place away from the comforts of 'home' in both the domestic and national senses. In the mercantile environment they quickly learn the most valuable assets of the British hero-figure are courage and physical strength, the same qualities admired in the muscular masculinity cultivated by the sportsman.

The story's treatment of the foreign Other further emphasises the projected masculine superiority of the British hero-figure. This is seen most clearly in the characterisation of Caesar, a former slave who is the cook aboard the *Antelope*. The narrator briefly explains that Caesar, as a young boy, was taken into slavery from his West African home and sent to Cuba. Managing to escape aboard an English ship, Caesar obtains his freedom and, while working as a cabin boy, he eventually comes into the service of Captain Gilbert. Known for 'the excellence of his cooking' and for 'always ready to lend a hand', Caesar was 'a great favourite among the crew'.[17] This genial image transformed when shown defending the *Antelope* against Arab attack, where he is described as sounding 'like a bull' and looking 'like a demon'.[18] Describing Caesar's physical strength as animal-like and less human rather than masculine and brave relegates him to an inferior and more primitive role. This 'savage' behaviour only appears when encountering the enemies of the English, which is in keeping with his overall display of loyalty to Captain Gilbert. It also alludes to Captain Gilbert's ability to subdue Caesar's 'wildness'. Jeffrey Richards comments on their relationship, writing, 'The faithful

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[16] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 110.
[17] 'The Fetish Hole', 10 October 1896, pp. 17-19 (p. 18).
[18] *Ibid*.

servant [. . .] recurs regularly, and each of the Henty heroes has a faithful black who attaches himself to him, is frequently instrumental in rescuing him from his enemies and in many cases accompanies him back to England'.[19] The formulaic caricature of the faithful servant was also found in Henty's description of his own servant in 'The Life of a Special Correspondent', whom he described as 'a fine tall negro who had [. . .] come with me out of the pure love of adventure. He was [. . .] an admirable cook and an invaluable servant'.[20] Similarly, Lionel authenticates Caesar's integrity: 'Caesar is a first-rate fellow, and I don't think that he would make up a lie'.[21] This endorsement establishes Caesar with the necessary credentials to qualify as an ally; however, it does not place him on equal footing with the English characters. Instead, his position of trust is awarded through his accepted subservient role as the dedicated employee of Captain Gilbert.

The divide between the Englishman and the foreign Other is accentuated by the racial typecasting that is represented in Caesar's speech. As Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin observe: 'Language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of "truth", "order", and "reality" become established.'[22] The following passage, which is his response to the news that they will be sailing to East Africa, immediately distinguishes him from the rest of the English crew.

> Caesar am pleased, Massa. Bery stupid work when ship in port; nothing to do, no one to cook for; fellow come along wharf and shout 'Halloa, darkie!' and wake me up every time I try to get lilley sleep on deck; dat almost make Caesar angry sometime. Bery glad to be off again. Strong crew dis time, Massa; gib it hot to dem Arab rascals if dey try to interfere with us.[23]

The use of Pidgin English in literary texts during this time was not uncommon and its use here emphasises the notion of European superiority over the colonised

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[19] Jeffrey Richards, 'With Henty to Africa', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. by Jeffrey Richards (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1989), pp. 72-106 (p. 91).
[20] G. A. Henty, 'The Life of a Special Correspondent', *BOP*, 20 June 1896, pp. 599-560 (p. 600).
[21] 'The Fetish Hole', 3 October 1896, p. 2.
[22] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (Routledge, 2003), p. 7 <http://www.myilibrary.com?ID=7467> [accessed 21 December 2015]
[23] 'The Fetish Hole', 10 October 1896, p. 18.

Other. Speaking in the third person, Caesar's command of the English language seems limited and his confused syntax contributes to the overall appearance of what Donnarae MacCann terms 'muddled-headedness'.[24] This makes Caesar appear even less in control of his thoughts and speech and suggests that his use of English is based on imitation rather than ability. Caesar's use of the term 'Massa', an address commonly used in nineteenth-century 'representations of U.S. and Caribbean black speech' and a corruption of 'master', reinforces his subordinate role within the text.[25] This further confirms the contested space between master/employer and slave/servant, thus emphasising the ambiguous status of Caesar's freedom.

In addition to the assigned speech patterns, Caesar's name also contributes to his position as an outsider. Although it is not explicated in the text, Caesar is most likely the name given to him by his former master. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was common practice for Western slave owners to give their slaves classical or historical names, such as Caesar.[26] This act of renaming, and the subsequent suppression of the slave's African identity, was another means of exerting control. The ironic reversal of power implicated in the name Caesar administered further humiliation. 'Changing an enslaved African man's name', writes Daniel P. Black, 'added insult to injury, for he could not then even be identified as a West African man. Worse, his new name illustrated to the world that the virility he once boasted had been replaced with subservience'.[27] In much the same way, Caesar's West African history is also extricated, and his identity is formulated through the lens of Western imperialist ideologies. Despite having escaped enslavement, Caesar's name remains a mark of slavery and a signifier of his status as a colonised subject.

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[24] Donnarae MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature: Characterizations of African-Americans, 1830-1900* (London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), p. 106.
[25] 'massa, n.', *OED Online* [accessed 20 June 2015]
[26] Caesar was also a popular nineteenth-century name give to pet dog as seen in Gordon Stables, 'Some Boys' Own Dogs: And How to Keep Them', *BOP*, 3 June 1893, pp. 568 & 570-571 (p. 570).
[27] Daniel P. Black, *Dismantling Black Manhood: An Historical and Literary Analysis of the Legacy of Slavery* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1997), p. 71.

In addition to the portrayal of Caesar, 'The Fetish Hole' depicts the local inhabitants of East Africa as naïve and uncivilised tribes who fail to capitalise on the wealth of natural resources at their fingertips. Instead of recognising the value of the diamonds they are controlled by superstitious fear, interpreting the geyser from which the diamonds are pushed out of the earth as a form of fetish. A Fetish is defined as 'an inanimate object worshipped by preliterate peoples on account of its supposed inherent magical powers, or as being animated by a spirit'.[28] Caesar's friend, who had first discovered the diamonds, only realised their intrinsic commercial value when the Arab slave-traders tried to extract the location of the mine. Despite recognising the value of his findings, Caesar's friend does not return, as the danger is too great. The story clearly makes the case for English intervention and colonisation as a means of maximising the potential of the natural resources of pre-industrial countries. This stresses the point that all cultural progress and values were measured against Western standards and that the rituals of life practiced by other cultures were considered meaningless.

The rewriting of African history also allowed for a revision of Britain's active role in the eighteenth-century transatlantic slave trade. Richards observes: 'Henty clearly subscribes to an altruistic view of the British Empire, seeing British actions as frequently dictated by the desire to good. He makes it clear too that in their actions the British are often supported by the "natives".'[29] As Captain Gilbert, Lionel, and Dacre journey through East Africa, 'They were well received at the villages through which they passed [. . .] for it was known among the natives that the English were doing all in their power to put down the slave trade'.[30] Just as the English are recognised as global heroes within the text, the real perpetrators of slavery are also clearly identified. Caesar describes them as 'Bery bad men, Arab slave-traders, ebery one of dem'.[31] Richards notes: 'In *The Fetish Hole*, the Arabs are characterised as cruel and treacherous, as slave traders and pirates, as

[28] 'fetish, n.1.b', *OED Online* [accessed 20 June 2015]
[29] Richards, 'With Henty to Africa', p. 100.
[30] 'The Fetish Hole', 7 November 1896, pp. 81-83 (p. 82).
[31] 'The Fetish Hole', 10 October 1896, p. 18.

exploiters of the natives, in marked contrast to the humanitarian British.'[32] The Arabs' involvement in human trafficking is not the main reason for their being typecast as the story's villains; they are also the competitors of the English merchants.[33] They are portrayed as shrewd businessmen who recognise the value of diamonds, weapons, and material objects. These are more threatening to the ambitions of the English adventurers than the brute force exhibited by the indigenous Africans.

Generally characterised as being physically and morally inferior, the foreign Other in 'The Fetish Hole' is subjected to a hierarchy of civilisation; those who have been exposed to Western culture and influence are considered more intelligent and trustworthy, while those living in areas that have not yet been colonised are presented as violent and untrustworthy or childish and superstitious. Therefore, the foreigner is depicted as having the potential to 'improve' through the appropriation of Western, or more specifically English, behaviour and values. It is by accepting this hierarchical system that the foreigner can obtain favour in the eyes of the story's English heroes. The further they travel away from villages that were in contact with European settlers and traders, the more the indigenous people are portrayed as uncivilised and suspicious of the English explorers. This differentiation between civilised and uncivilised is often demarcated through the degree of dress and undress, another familiar trope of colonial writing. In one village 'they saw at once the tribe were far less civilised than were the Basengas, who, trading with the Portuguese, were for the most part clad in European cottons, while these men were always naked'.[34] As the expedition party moves further into the interior of East Africa, the local inhabitants are increasingly described by their wild qualities and so, as the Africans are positioned geographically further from the 'West', so they are morally further from the Westerners.

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[32] Richards, 'With Henty to Africa', p. 96.
[33] By the time Henty's story was published, Zanzibar was under British protectorate and slavery had been abolished. In 1885-86, the British and Germans made an agreement, Britain gaining control over Kenya and the Germany gaining control over Tanzania.
[34] 'The Fetish Hole', 7 November 1896, pp. 82-83.

What differentiates the foreign Other from the English explorers most was his superstitious beliefs in the spirit world and its various manifestations which were called fetishes. Again, the level of superstition was relative to the Other's proximity and exposure to Western influence. Richards examines this juxtaposition, writing:

> Superstition is paramount among 'native' peoples [. . .] The racial hierarchy of civilisation is demonstrated by the attitudes to the Fetish Hole, a sacred place where the diamonds are to be found. The negroes, totally sunk in pagan superstition, refuse to go near it. The mixed race Zanzibaris, who are Moslems, to some extent share the negroes misgivings but will work there for extra pay. The whites ignore the superstitions and go about mining the diamonds.[35]

This 'hierarchy of civilisation' is also modelled on the child/adult dichotomy often applied to nineteenth-century attitudes towards racial development and progression. Caesar's friend, the original discoverer of the diamonds, offers an example of this: 'I believed the stories when I was a boy, but since I have been here I have learned to despise fetishes'.[36] Superstitious beliefs are associated with childish fancies while maturation is achieved by his encounter with Western civilisation. As Said observes: 'The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different"; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal".'[37] Caesar's friend's maturity is based on his interaction with the Portuguese and his transformation suggests that the foreign Other conforms to the belief system of those with the most power.

Depictions of the foreign Other as superstitious in 'The Fetish Hole' are further emphasised by Alfred Pearse's accompanying illustrations. Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher observe: '[Henty's] illustrators were no less didactic in their efforts to manage readers' interpretations of pictures and to imagine themselves witnesses of (and participants in) a colonial scene.'[38] On their return journey, Captain Gilbert's party encounters the Auemba, 'who are agreed to be a most

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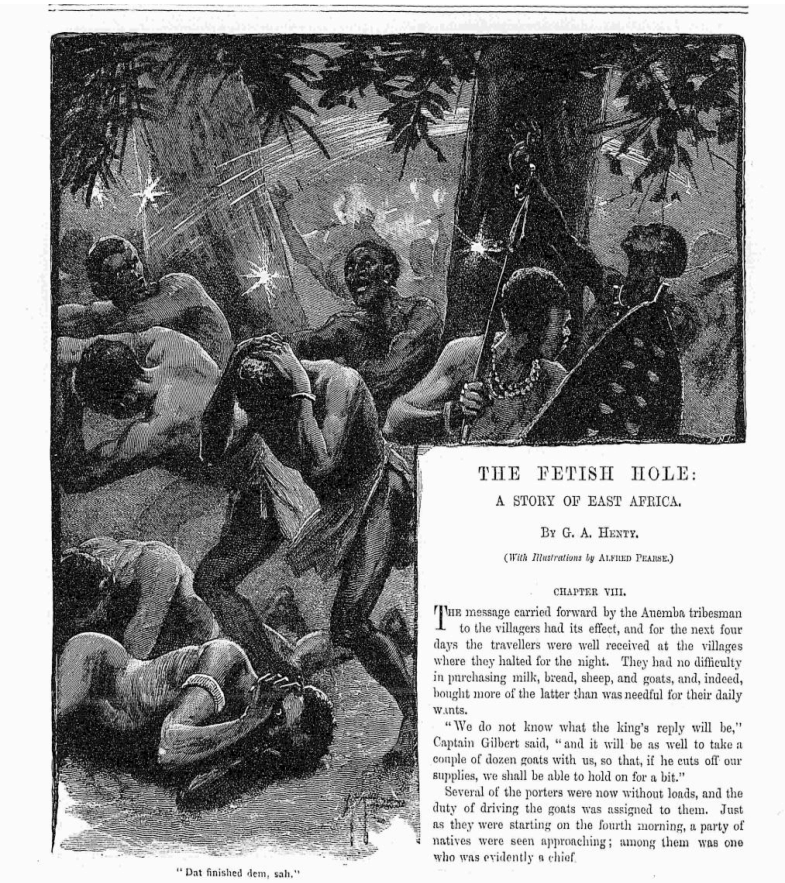
[35] Richards, 'With Henty to Africa', p. 93.
[36] 'Fetish Hole', 28 November 1896, pp. 129-131 (p. 130).
[37] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 40.
[38] Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher, 'Picturing the Empire in India: Illustrating Henty', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 55 (2012), 155-175 (pp. 164-165).

warlike tribe'.[39] Pearse's accompanying illustration depicts the moment when 'three rockets with different coloured stars were sent up simultaneously, and at the same moment four others charged with crackers were sent into the wood, the crackling and banging being followed by shouts of terror among the natives'.[40] **[Figure 5]** Captain Gilbert's strategy to defeat the attacking tribe is considered an act of ingenuity on the part of the English characters. Pearse's illustration includes the standard tropes of the savage warrior such as the spear and shield. They are further stereotyped by their nudity and exaggerated facial features. In the centre of the image, a man with his arms outstretched and eyes rolled back moves forward, zombie-like and the figures writhing on the ground in front of him appear



THE FETISH HOLE:

A STORY OF EAST AFRICA.

BY G. A. HENTY.

(*With Illustrations by* ALFRED PEARSE.)

CHAPTER VIII.

THE message carried forward by the Anemba tribesman to the villagers had its effect, and for the next four days the travellers were well received at the villages where they halted for the night. They had no difficulty in purchasing milk, bread, sheep, and goats, and, indeed, bought more of the latter than was needful for their daily wants.

"We do not know what the king's reply will be," Captain Gilbert said, "and it will be as well to take a couple of dozen goats with us, so that, if he cuts off our supplies, we shall be able to hold on for a bit."

Several of the porters were now without loads, and the duty of driving the goats was assigned to them. Just as they were starting on the fourth morning, a party of natives were seen approaching; among them was one who was evidently a chief.

"Dat finished dem, sah."

Figure 5: Illustration by Alfred Pearse for G. A. Henty, 'The Fetish Hole: A Story of East Africa', *BOP*, 21 November 1896, p. 113. © The British Library Board, P.P.5993.u.

[39] 'The Fetish Hole', 7 November 1896, p. 82.
[40] 'The Fetish Hole', 21 November 1896, pp. 113-115 (p. 115).

possessed with fear. Commenting on the success of their defence, Caesar comments: 'Dat finished dem, sah [. . .]dey tink dat a terrible fetish; no want to fight any more'.[41] By playing on the superstitions of these tribesmen, the English outwit their enemies. As Julie Codell observes: 'Images complemented, supplemented or even contradicted, sometimes unwittingly, texts with which they were paired. Images often added an emotional dimension and reinforced stereotypes.'[42] Pearse's illustration reiterates Henty's imperialist ideology and demonstrates how it was thought that a war against the Other could be easily won by 'magic tricks'.

In 1905, the *Boy's Own Paper* published the following statement from Henty:

> True heroism is largely based upon two qualities – truthfulness and unselfishness; a readiness to put one's own pleasure aside for that of others, to be courteous to all; kind to those younger than yourself, helpful to your parents, even if that helpfulness demands some slight sacrifice of your own pleasure. You must remember that these two qualities are true signs of Christian heroism.[43]

Considering the treatment of the foreign Other in 'The Fetish Hole', this is a particularly interesting statement as the story did not carry any reference to Christianity. Instead, risking the dangers of storms at sea, the threat of attack, and the contraction of malaria were all predicated on capitalism and imperial entitlement. Imperial intervention in the story is further justified by the depiction of Africans as intellectually and physically inferior. This was a common trope used in nineteenth-century adventure fiction. As Robert H. MacDonald discusses:

> At the centre of the adventure story is a young hero, who, though he finds himself in numerous life-threatening situations, always survives, and always returns home [. . .] The hero comes home with gold in his pockets. This is the usual meaning of adventure; to its stories a culture will add its own particular values. The basic narratives become politicised, and their motifs reflect the hopes and anxieties of the age.[44]

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[41] *Ibid*.
[42] Julie Codell, 'Imperial Differences and Culture Clashes in Victorian Periodicals' Visuals: The Case of *Punch*', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 39 (2006), 410-428 (p. 411).
[43] G. A. Henty, 'A Boy's Hero on True Heroism', *BOP*, 28 January 1905, p. 288.
[44] Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 210.

In the case of 'The Fetish Hole', Captain Gilbert and his nephews return from East Africa with diamonds in their pockets and the ambition to pursue further fortunes abroad.

James Cox: Unrest in the West Indies

In addition to the longer serialised adventure stories, the paper also published shorter travel pieces that provided first-hand accounts of life in the colonial environment. Like Henty's writing, these also exhibited the literary crossover between travel writing and adventure fiction. James Cox published several short narratives that claimed to draw on his personal experiences traveling abroad while in the Royal Navy. At the beginning of his four-part series 'Nearly Garotted: A Story of the Cuban Insurrection', Cox informed his readers that as '[s]tartling as it may in some parts seem, this story [. . .] is founded on fact'.[45] However, the style of his writing in these near-death episodes with its exaggerated misrepresentation of the foreign Other resembled the colonial tropes found in the fictional adventure narratives found elsewhere in the *Boy's Own Paper*. The ambiguity of Cox's work delivers another example of how the *Boy's Own Paper* intersected fact and fiction in its representations of the colonial Other.

Cox's first piece for the *Boy's Own Paper*, 'How I Lost My Finger' (1880), takes place aboard the naval gun-vessel *Iris* stationed off the West Coast of Africa.[46] 'Nearly Garotted' continues from this episode with the *Iris* stationed off Cuba. 'At the time the events here related took place', the narrator explains, 'the Cuban insurrection was in full swing, and the Spanish Government was trying to put it down with a strong hand [. . .] the guerrilla warfare practised by the Cubans and the foreign aid rendered to the rebels by Americans and others'.[47] The story takes place during the Ten Years' War (1868-1878) and is a complicated web of political power struggles between the Cuban Rebels, the Spanish military, American

[45] James Cox, 'Nearly Garotted: A Story of the Cuban Insurrection', *BOP*, 2 December 1882, pp. 140-143, (p. 140).
[46] There are records of several different British naval vessels named *Iris*. I have been unable to confirm which ship Cox was assigned to.
[47] 'Nearly Garotted', 2 December 1882, p. 143.

interests in annexing Cuba, and the British calling for the abolition of slavery. The rebels, many of these Cuban-born nationals, were against the illegal import of slaves and because of this the British were more sympathetic to their cause than with Spain's rule. Told from an English perspective, the tensions created within 'Nearly Garotted' emphasise Spain's failure to maintain European values within its colonies.

Unlike 'The Fetish Hole', where the African terrain is depicted as laden with the prospective financial opportunities of colonialism, 'Nearly Garotted' presents Cuba as a society on the brink of complete upheaval and potential degeneration. These tensions are reflected in the English characters' responses to the landscape. The ship's surgeon, complaining of the heat, says: 'I wish that Columbus had stopped at home instead of poking about in search of a new world. Why under the sun couldn't he be content with the old, which is far better'.[48] This rhetorical question is not merely in response to the weather but is a commentary about the current state of affairs. Lieutenant Young shares these concerns: 'Well may this lovely island be named the "Queen of the Antilles" [. . .] What a pity it is these Cuban fellows destroy and lay waste such a magnificent country'.[49] Whereas the surgeon considers the whole Spanish colonial enterprise futile, Lieutenant Young's observation suggests that the colonisation of Cuba would have been successful under the command of a more judicious and capable power, presumably that being the English. As seen in the 'The Fetish Hole', the local inhabitants are not extracting the natural resources of the land. Lieutenant Young describes the landscape: 'Everything seemed instinct with life. The rustling of the "wind-kissed leaves" mingled with the songs of birds; and the deeper notes of the distant surf blended with them in one harmonious chorus of praise to the creator'.[50] Andrea White, writing on Joseph Conrad, observes: 'Adventure fiction celebrated, in its various "exotic" settings, a pre-industrial past, and particularly after mid-century, the nostalgia implicit in this fiction fulfilled the industrialized reader's desires for

[48] *Ibid*., p. 140.
[49] 'Nearly Garotted', 9 December 1882, pp. 152-155, (p. 153).
[50] *Ibid*., p. 152.

Edenic, unspoiled beauty'.[51] Describing the landscape in such idyllic terms, the romance of undisturbed nature also indicates an English sensibility, or rather prerogative, to determine the worth of a region.

This image of colonial unrest in 'Nearly Garotted' is further examined in Cox's following story 'Nearly Eaten; or the Professor's Adventure in Haiti' (1884). Unlike Cox's previous stories, 'Nearly Eaten' is written in a more humorous style. This seemingly comical encounter is laden with warnings of colonial unrest. Using the Haitian revolution and independence from French colonial rule (1804) as a background, Cox delivers a fictional narrative on the regression into savagery that is the potential result of an absence of European colonial rule. As with Cox's previous stories, this adventure begins aboard the *Iris*, this time providing a brief sketch of Professor Wilson's adventures in Haiti. The first part of the story takes place on board the *Iris*, which is heading towards Halifax, Nova Scotia from Port Royal, Jamaica. En route, the ship is diverted to Haiti in order to 'protect British interests'.[52] These British interests are not addressed within the text, but the situation in Haiti is described by one sailor as the '[s]ame old story [. . .] Niggers cutting each other's throats again. Chronic state of affairs there'.[53] Another sailor adds: 'in one of the Jamaica papers to-day that a cask of pickled negro was discovered a short time ago at St. Marc's. It appears that the Haitians are falling back into bad habits – relapsing once again into cannibalism'.[54] Karen Sands-O'Connor, writing on 'Nearly Eaten', criticises Cox's depiction of the Haitians as cannibals, another trope of colonial discourse. She writes:

> [Cox] has either conflated the history of the Carib tribes with that of the Afro-Caribbean population [. . .] but the Haitians could not 'relapse' into something they had never done. By giving the Haitians a history of

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[51] Andrea White, *Joseph Conrad and the Adventure Tradition: Constructing and Deconstructing the Imperial Subject* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 62.
[52] James Cox, 'Nearly Eaten; or, The Professor's Adventure in Haiti', *BOP*, 22 March 1884, pp. 385-388 (p. 386).
[53] *Ibid*., p. 386.
[54] *Ibid*., p. 387. [In 1864 a case was brought to trial in Bizoton, Haiti accusing a group of eight men and women of murdering and cannibalising a young girl as part of a Vodou ritual. See Kate Ramsey, *The Spirit and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2014)].

> cannibalism, Cox changed the 'never, not there' into the 'always already there'.[55]

This is another example in which the rewriting of the foreign Other's history was employed as a means of imperialist control. Cox builds his story around the misrepresentation of the long-standing tradition of Vodouism incorporating the practice of human sacrifice and cannibalism. By mingling aspects of different cultures together to create a single negative racial stereotype, Cox portrays the foreign Other as an indistinguishable and unruly mass that requires colonial control as a means of establishing order.

Negating the history of the foreign Other was another method of colonial subjugation. As David Spurr observes: '[the] way of defining the African, as without history and without progress, makes way for the moral necessity of cultural transformation. The colonising powers will create a history where there was none'.[56] Portrayed as malleable and child-like, the colonised Other became defined by his relationship with the coloniser. It was also believed that the foreign Other was hindered by his racial inferiority and, therefore, unable to fully appropriate Western traditions. 'By denying the African any significant "past" outside the contact with Europe', Castle argues, 'Africa was Britain's "frontier"; and "progressive" history viewed the movement into the wilderness as evidence of the industry and initiative of the white man'.[57] Adventure literature contributed to a Western rewriting of history by misrepresenting the foreign Other as incapable of self-governance, intellectual achievement, or commercial success.

With no previous first-hand knowledge of Haiti, the professor approaches the current situation with a seemingly intellectual curiosity: 'How remarkably interesting it will be to endeavour to trace the cause of this relapse from the high state of civilisation they attained under the Emperor Soulouque and subsequent

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[55] Karen Sands-O'Connor, *Soon Come Home to This Island: West Indians in British Children's Literature* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 57.
[56] David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 99.
[57] Castle, p. 113.

rulers'.[58] Faustin Soulouque (d. 1867), described as 'illiterate, black, and apparently malleable', was a Haitian General chosen as a puppet president by the Haitian Senate in 1847.[59] He gained power by force and crowned himself Emperor in 1849. This mimicry of the French Emperor Napoleon was the subject of much ridicule in the French press. Joan Dayan notes: 'Soulouque's character was defamed when the French [. . .] made him the vessel for their disdain of their own emperor'.[60] Professor Wilson's suggestion that Soulouque's government had produced a recognisably civilised society is disputed by his brother, Captain Wilson, who cautions him: 'you are mistaken in supposing that the negroes of Haiti ever reached a high state of civilisation. They would eat you as soon as look at you'.[61] Irrespective of Captain Wilson's warning, when they reach Haiti the professor insists on going ashore to capture a specimen of the elusive Heliconia butterfly.

Described as 'little professor', 'genial little gentleman', and 'a clever geologist, naturalist, and linguist', Professor Wilson does not fulfil the masculine prototype that generally featured in adventure fiction.[62] The accompanying illustration, which depicts him fleeing from his potential captors, reinforces this image of him as an awkward, gangly, bespectacled academic. In comparison, the local inhabitants he encounters are portrayed in even less flattering terms. The professor describes one woman as 'hideous in appearance, with teeth like those of a shark', a man as having a 'huge mouth and glistening white teeth', and when he makes his escape from their encampment he is 'followed by the howling cannibals'.[63] Representing the foreign Other as animalistic savages, 'Nearly Eaten' dehumanises the Haitian people and maintains the superiority of Western civilisation. Furthermore, the portrayal of the professor as a naïve idealist in

[58] 'Nearly Eaten', 22 March 1884, p. 387.
[59] Joan Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods* (London: University of California Press, 1998), p. 15.
[60] *Ibid*., p. 12.
[61] 'Nearly Eaten', 22 March 1884, p. 387.
[62] *Ibid*., p. 386.
[63] 'Nearly Eaten', 29 March 1884, pp. 409-411 (p. 410).

comparison with the rest of the crew makes the case for military intervention as a means of controlling the foreign Other.

The presence of an English professor in a colonial setting also symbolises the role of intellectual ideologies in the wider imperialist cause. Said discusses the relationship between knowledge and power, and considers that 'to be a European in the Orient, and to be one knowledgeably, one must see and know the Orient as a domain ruled over by Europe'.[64] Despite the comical portrayal of the professor's physique, he still represents European authority and his anthropological analysis of the local inhabitants further endorses colonial credibility. Cox's narrative, as did Henty in 'The Fetish Hole', employed the use of racially oriented discourses in order to perpetuate the ideology of an inherent racial hierarchy, with Europeans at the top. This attitude was commonly expressed throughout the *Boy's Own Paper* as seen in 'Something About Savages' (1905), in which Ken Clevedon commented: 'The great difference between man and beast is the gift of speech; and the great difference between a civilised and a savage man is in the use made of it'.[65] This attitude is conveyed through the professor's observations.

> Presently, to my horror, I overheard one say to another, in execrable French – which, you know, is the common language of the country – 'Let us eat him!' when the fellow who had taken my pipe stalked into the hut and immediately reappeared with a formidable hatchet in his hand.[66]

As with Caesar in 'The Fetish Hole', the Haitian characters in 'Nearly Eaten' are depicted as possessing an inferior understanding of language. Their 'execrable French', which most likely is a reference to the French Creole that had developed from the amalgamation of French and a mixture of West African languages in order to facilitate trade, signifies both the asserted power of the coloniser and the rejection of power by the colonised. In addition to the language, the image of independent Haiti as being in a state of regression is perpetuated by the apparent rejection of Western civilisation. This is seen in the foreign Other living in huts,

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[64] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 197.
[65] Ken Clevedon, 'Something About Savages', *BOP*, 14 October 1905, pp. 28-29 (p. 28).
[66] 'Nearly Eaten', 29 March 1884, p. 410.

their use of a creole language, and their apparent lack of respect towards their English visitor.

In 'Nearly Eaten', the cannibal represents a very extreme version of the civilised/uncivilised dichotomy. As Howard L. Malchow observes:

> [The cannibal] serves to enforce social and sexual boundaries, not only by being the image of the savage opposite [. . .] but by threatening literally to eradicate boundaries: by incorporating others within himself, he becomes the image of chaos beyond the structured world of personality, subordination, and hierarchy.[67]

This is evident in the two different forms of cannibalism that are addressed in 'Nearly Eaten'. Firstly, from the professor's perspective, there is an actual threat of human cannibalism as part of pagan ritualistic practices. 'Either as a customary practice or as ungovernable rage and vengeance,' writes Malchow, 'cannibalism has been associated with the wild barbarian [. . .] from the dawn of European self-regard as a "higher" civilization'.[68] Although there is no evidence in the text of these characters eating human flesh, the notion of the foreign Other as savage is reinforced by his interpretation of events. The second form of cannibalism, and perhaps the more threatening, is the found image of the foreign Other as a scavenger of Western civilisation. Here the literal dismemberment of European colonialism is portrayed in both the rejection of European rule and its misappropriation. As seen with Emperor Souloque, the adoption of selected Western traditions as an attempt to exert power was considered a vulgar imitation. It also operated as a form of mimicry that undermined European attempts to impose 'civilisation' on the foreign Other. For the professor, who successfully escapes unharmed, the most affronting aspect of this episode is 'the idea of a man coming thousands of miles only to be a meal for you, you rascals [. . .] Oh, you black villains – and this the nineteenth century'.[69] The professor's language is condescending as if he were scolding a couple of stray dogs rather than human beings. While much of the story's humour is in the characterisation of the

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[67] Howard L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 44.
[68] Malchow, p. 41.
[69] 'Nearly Eaten', 29 March 1884, p. 410.

professor as an inexperienced explorer, the message remains: even the less-masculine Englishman can outwit the cunning tricks and brute force characteristic of the foreign Other.

'Words of Cheer': Writing from the Colonies

Adventure stories were often based on the commercial and political aspects of the British imperial campaign and portrayed a very physical masculinity, as seen in the writing of Henty and Cox. In addition to the popular adventure stories, the *Boy's Own Paper* published numerous short articles from missionaries and civil servants stationed within the wider British Empire. In its editorial column 'Words of Cheer', the *Boy's Own Paper* regularly published letters from readers who wanted to commend the publication for its success in producing healthy, Christian literature for young boys the world over. As a missionary writing from Brazil testified: 'BOY'S OWN PAPER, that excellent periodical of the Religious Tract Society, which I often hold up to the natives as one of the highest outcomes of the influence of Christian civilisation upon juvenile literature'.[70] This aspect of the *Boy's Own Paper* was very much in keeping with the objectives of the Religious Tract Society. Founded in 1799, the Society initially distributed religious tracts within Britain, but it soon began publishing missionary tracts. As Aileen Fyfe observes: 'Within forty years, the Society was publishing tracts in over a hundred languages for use in mission fields all over the world.'[71] While the *Boy's Own Paper* was not translated into other languages, it did become a staple of Protestant missionary schools and was used as a means of promulgating British Christian literature and culture within the wider Empire.

In 1881, the *Religious Tract Society Record* published a speech given to Society members on 'What is True Imperialism?'.[72] Patrick Dunae summarises:

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[70] Anon, 'Words of Cheer', *BOP*, 2 July 1887, p. 639.
[71] Aileen Fyfe, 'The Religious Tract Society' in *The Irish Book in English 1800-1891,* ed. by James H. Murphy, The Oxford History of the Irish Book Series, IV (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 357-363 (p. 357).
[72] Anon, 'What is True Imperialism', *Religious Tract Society Record*, 18 (1881), pp. 38-40.

> According to the RTS official who delivered the speech, true imperialism involved the salvation of heathen souls. The speaker described the British Empire as the successor to the ancient kingdom of Israel, and he urged the imperial government to devote its energies to 'spreading the glorious tidings of salvation to the ends of the earth.'[73]

This combination of missionary responsibility and imperial expansion was exhibited throughout the *Boy's Own Paper*. Furthermore, the Religious Tract Society, which was generally hesitant to publish literature that encouraged militarism, increasingly encouraged an imperial discourse and in 1909 it issued a new publication entitled *The Empire Annual For Boys* (1909-1933).[74] For the Christian at the turn of the twentieth century, imperial objects were justified under the guise of missionary responsibility. Writing on nineteenth-century Christian missionaries, John M. MacKenzie observes: 'Throughout the Empire they made a major contribution, sometimes virtually the only contribution, to educational processes'.[75] Christian missionaries were often the first contact many foreigners had with the Western world. As Anna Johnston writes: 'Missionary activity in colonial cultures intended [. . .] to "raise up" native populations in standards of conduct, lifestyle, and industry at the same time as raising spiritual standards through the introduction of Christian principles'.[76] The assumed moral objective to 'civilise' the foreign Other was central to the *Boy's Own Paper*'s discussion of Christian duty. Ken Clevedon's article 'More About Savages' (1907) directly addressed this: 'So that, if we dislike what we know of savages, we can do no better thing than try and raise their condition by furthering the missionary work of making them civilised Christians'.[77] This attitude towards nineteenth-century

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[73] Patrick Dunae, 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire', *Victorian Studies*, 24 (1980), 105-121 (p. 108).
[74] For further commentary on *The Empire Annual for Boys* and *The Empire Annual for Girls* see Kristine Moruzi, 'The British Empire and the Australian Girls' Annuals', *Women's Writing*, 21 (2014), 166-184. Sikata Banerjee also briefly addresses this publication in her book *Make Me a Man! Masculinity, Hinduism, and Nationalism in India* (New York: State of New York University Press, 2005).
[75] John M. MacKenzie, 'General Introduction', in *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism*, ed. by J. A. Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. ix-x (p. x).
[76] Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003), p. 52.
[77] Ken Clevedon, 'More About Savages', *BOP*, 14 December 1907, p. 71.

Christian missions was widely shared. The explorer Harry Johnston famously stated: 'They strengthen our hold over the country, they spread the use of the English language, they induct the natives into the best kind of civilization and in fact each mission station is an essay in colonization.'[78] It is evident that control, Christianity, and civilisation went hand-in-hand and together they provided what Patricia Rooke considers 'a support system intrinsic to British imperialism'.[79]

While popular adventure fiction writers, such as Henty, focused on the economic and military aspects of empire-building, the *Boy's Own Paper* did perpetuate the notion that British imperialism and Christianity were inextricably linked. Missionary travel writers offered readers living in Britain first-hand accounts of the landscape and society they encountered abroad. Series such as 'Stranger Than Fiction; Or, Stories of Missionary Peril and Heroism' (1884-1887) and 'Great African Explorers' (1884) celebrated the achievements and sacrifices of well-known missionaries such as David Livingstone (d. 1873) and Bishop George Augustus Selwyn (d. 1878).[80] While the majority of missionary accounts published in the *Boy's Own Paper* were factual, others were clearly fiction based on fact. As with James Cox's naval stories, these narratives contributed to the publication's impression of the colonial Other. These narratives often employed a language, in both the title and content, that mirrored the fictional adventure stories they were published alongside and, as Anna Johnston considers, 'The widespread appeal of missionary celebrities such as John Williams, David Livingstone, and George Augustus Selwyn provided British evangelicals with heroes of religious and

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[78] Harry Johnston quoted in Andrew Porter, 'Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780-1914', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 20 (1992), 370-390 (p. 372).

[79] Patricia Rooke, 'Slavery, social death and imperialism: the formation of a Christian black élite in the West Indies, 1800-1845', in *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism*, ed. by J. A. Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 23-35 (p. 23).

[80] These series also included biographical sketches of John Eliot (d. 690), Rev. John Williams (d. 1839), Bishop Patteson (d. 1871), and Bishop James Hannington (1885). Shorter articles, such as 'Darkest Africa, and the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society' (1892) were also regularly dotted throughout the publication.

national stature'.[81] This situated the missionary within the wider context of military and commercial exploration and substantiating colonial expansion with moral and religious integrity.

David Livingstone was a popular example of Christian hero-worship. He was so much a part of the nineteenth-century British cultural conscience that Jules Verne even incorporated him into the narrative of 'The Boy Captain: A Tale of Adventure By Land and Sea' (1880). Articles in the *Boy's Own Paper* focused more on his contribution to the overseas Christian mission rather than his reputation as an adventurer. This was evident in the paper's article 'The Life of a Missionary' (1879):

> But while the scientific world, and especially the Royal Geographical Society, applauded his successful efforts as an explorer, the main work of his life was carried on with quiet and steady purpose – the work of a Christian missionary. For fortune or fame he cared little, although no nobler dust now helps to consecrate Westminster Abbey, and his name will live among England's greatest heroes and worthies.[82]

The mythologizing of Livingstone's international success demonstrated the importance of situating contemporary achievements within a historical context. His burial in Westminster Abbey, within the pantheon of British hero-figures, perpetuated the notion of an inherited British legacy. In the context of the *Boy's Own Paper*, the main objective of lifting Livingstone up as a Christian role model was to make the prospect of a missionary life seem more attractive to young readers.[83]

The *Boy's Own Paper* used Livingstone as an example of the important role played by the missionary adventurer in spreading the Christian message and English cultural values. In extoling the virtues of the Christian missionary, 'The Life of a Missionary' also established a hierarchical structure of civilisation.

> The missionary goes forth having all the aids the arts and sciences can furnish. It would have been different had God in His providence permitted

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[81] Anna Johnston, 'British Missionary Publishing, Missionary Celebrity, and Empire', *Nineteenth-Century Prose*, 32 (2005), 20-43 (p. 33).
[82] Anon, 'The Life of a Missionary', *BOP*, 29 March 1879, pp. 165-166 (p. 165).
[83] The *BOP* also published 'The Boyhood and Youth of Livingstone' (1888) and 'David Livingstone, As Boy and Man' (1889).

> heathen nations to make the discoveries which now belong to the lands from which alone missionaries emerge. Other nations seem to have been on the very verge of these discoveries, but, somehow or other, there was an arrest of development.[84]

The article's commentary did not delivery a practical guide for missionary life abroad; rather it was an ideological exposition that defined missionary work as a spiritual calling, social responsibility, and a divine right. Assuming British Christian superiority over 'heathen nations' linked missionary conversion with imperial expansion. As Anna Johnston notes: '[the] missionary discourses maintain a distinct position on racial difference which, although participating in racialist hierarchies, [it] is nevertheless obliged to promote a "common" humanity'.[85] Instead of focusing on '"common" humanity', 'The Life of a Missionary' focused on the favoured status of the missionary in the eyes of God. The author further suggested that God took particular care of missionaries. He asked his readers: 'Who enjoys more of the special protection of God's providence than the messenger of mercy to the heathen?'.[86] The article advocated that this hierarchical order was considered part of God's plan by revealing himself to the civilised nations of the West and employing them as living examples of his message. The missionary's need for God's protection also implied the 'heathen native' posed a physical danger.

This reimaging of the Christian missionary as a masculine hero-figure was seen in Rev. Fred Fairey's 'The Voyage of the Evangelist; or, Canoe Travelling Upon the Rivers and Coasts of Australasia' (1882). Fairey personified the idealised masculine qualities valued in the *Boy's Own Paper*; he was educated, physically active, and adventurous. As a Christian minister his first-hand account of living in Australia offered an exciting example of missionary life in the colonies. Fairey's expedition was inspired by the travels of John 'Rob Roy' MacGregor (d. 1892), the Scotsman who made popular the 'Rob Roy' canoe.[87] And like MacGregor, who

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[84] *Ibid*., p. 166.
[85] Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, p. 203.
[86] 'The Life of a Missionary', p. 165.
[87] Fairey's voyage was re-enacted by the Victorian Sea Kayak Club in 2008, continuing his legacy.

published an account of a canoeing expedition in an 1879 issue of the *Boy's Own Paper*, Fairey used the paper as an avenue to reach a wide readership.[88]

> In relating experiences of travel upon Australian waters in my Rob Roy canoe, which I have named the Evangelist, I want to interest the 'boys of England' in the life of these Southern lands, and I am in hopes that, through the medium of the BOY'S OWN PAPER, many thousands of youthful readers will find recreation in following the adventures of the Australian Rob Roy, and will extend their knowledge of these great colonies, which now form so important a part of the British Empire.[89]

His objective to provide 'recreation' and 'knowledge' through his writing was very much in keeping with the *Boy's Own Paper*'s ethos. Writing from Australia, Fairey's accounts were fresh and applicable to the contemporary reader, unlike many of the of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s leading authors who wrote about their travels retrospectively. Fairey's journey took his readers along with him on his 'annual holiday [to] visit the settlers on the rivers and coasts of these colonies, who seldom hear the Gospel preached or see the face of a Christian minister'.[90] In doing so, he provided readers with a modern image of colonial life where British values thrived and where British masculinity was developed, not threatened. This would suggest that the publication considered Australia's indigenous population less threatening because of the substantial British colonial presence and political control.

Education, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, was central to the Christian mission abroad and articles such as Rev. G. A. Bunbury's 'Chinese Boys and Their Ways' (1905) provided insight into the daily life of Christian schools in the mission field. Although Bunbury attempted to make comparisons between English and Chinese school life it was evident that he did not consider them equal. The esteemed qualities of the public schoolboy were not presented as universal; they were uniquely British. This was most clearly outlined in the absence of team sports in Chinese educational culture.

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[88] John MacGregor, 'An Awkward Thump on the Head', *BOP*, 4 October 1879, pp. 4-5 (p. 4).
[89] Rev. Fred C. B. Fairey, 'The Voyage of the Evangelist; or, Canoe Traveling upon the Rivers and Coasts of Australasia', *BOP*, 29 July 1882, pp. 700-701 (p. 700).
[90] *Ibid*.

> Chinese boys' games are not like English, in this, that each player plays for his own hand, and 'sides' are generally unknown [. . .] however, our boys are beginning to learn to play together, and to fight for side as well as self.[91]

In comparison to Britain, where schools considered physical activity and sport as an integral part of a well-rounded education, the foreign Other appears to be lazy, unmanly, lacking in team spirit, and unwilling to work together strategically for a common goal. As Castle observes: 'When custom or local practice was brought to the reader's attention [. . .] the intention was to condemn or to ridicule, with only the infrequent attempt to appreciate cultural difference'.[92] While Bunbury appears to establish a vague connection between Chinese and British schoolboys, the article perpetuated negative racial stereotypes and conveyed a deep sense of cultural divide. Unlike Cox's portrayal of the Haitians cannibalising Western culture, Bunbury's criticism seems to stem from the Chinese boys' inability to appropriate English schoolboy behaviour.

Bunbury's article was written during a time when, as Kitzan observes, 'Writers' attitudes to China were really very mixed'.[93] Published just a few years after the Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901), in which the Chinese fought against Western imperialism and many Christian missionaries were amongst the casualties, Bunbury's treatment of the Chinese was moderate in comparison with earlier depictions found in the *Boy's Own Paper*.[94] Writing with a light and familiar tone, Bunbury's article opened with a stereotypical Western description of Chinese culture:

> [T]he land of topsy-turvydom, where people are always counted a year older than they really are, where books begin at the last page and end at the first, where you write your letters not in lines but in columns, and where the mariner's compass points south! But, in spite of all this, Chinese boys are much the same as English boys. Like them, they go to school and play games, and get into scrapes and out of them again.[95]

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[91] *Ibid*.
[92] Castle, p. 94.
[93] Kitzan, p. 51.
[94] A few years earlier, the *BOP* addressed the Boxer Rebellion in 'Wang Tien Pin: A Story of the Boxer Rising' (1902).
[95] Rev. G. A. Bunbury, 'Chinese Boys and Their Ways', *BOP*, 12 August 1905, p. 727. [Bunbury was author of *Notes on Wild Life in Hong Kong and South China* (1909).]

By stressing cultural differences in three areas of intellectual achievement celebrated by the British - mathematics, literature, and science – his description labelled Chinese culture as seemingly absurd and illogical. Shih-Wen Chen concludes: 'In order to justify their interference in Chinese affairs, the British needed to present the country as being disorderly, confused, and "up-side-down," in need of being turned back to their normal side by the upright British'.[96]

Bunbury's critique of the Chinese approach to education disregarded China's long history of intellectual achievements, which included the invention of gunpowder, the compass, and printed books. This reflected, in a much more mild manner, the attitudes expressed in Angus R. H. Mackay's 'John Chinaman, and What John Bull Owes Him' (1899). Written at the beginning of the Boxer Rebellion, the article was overtly racist, berating every aspect of Chinese life and culture. Mackay did acknowledge a few of China's contributions to science and technology but concluded: 'Despite all this, we are to-day infinitely farther ahead of them in all points of real civilisation [. . .] in fact, to-day he is not a bit more civilised than he was centuries and centuries ago'.[97] In depicting the foreign Other as uncivilised, both Bunbury and Mackay diverted the readers attention away from the actual threat China posed to British imperialism.

The missionary discourse in the *Boy's Own Paper* was from a distinctly British perspective and despite the extensive commentary on British perceptions of foreigners there is little evidence in the paper of foreign authors addressing the missionary efforts. For the most part, the foreign Other was primarily understood through observation rather than by participation. On the rare occasion when the *Boy's Own Paper* did publish an article written by a foreign contributor, the author was from a privileged background and had been educated in Britain at one of

[96] Shih-Wen Chen, '"In Far Cathay": Representations of China in The Boy's Own Paper, 1879-1914', *Children's Literature in Education*, 44 (2013), 156-173 (p. 172). [Shih-Wen Chen's 2001 MA thesis, '"In Far Cathay": Images of China in *The Boy's Own Paper*, 1879-1914', gives a more detailed analysis of the treatment of Chinese characters in the *BOP*.]
[97] Angus R. H. Mackay, 'John Chinaman, and What John Bull Owes Him', *BOP*, 16 December 1899, pp. 165-166, (p. 166).

leading schools and universities and, as a result, was familiar with British culture.[98] In 1907, the *Boy's Own Paper* reprinted in its editorial column, 'Our Note Book', a segment of an address given by Baron Kikuchi to the students at St. Olave's Grammar School in Southwark.[99] Kikuchi, then Minister of Education in Japan, had attended Oxford University and the University of London in the 1870s, and his experience of elite British education enabled him to bridge the gap between Japanese and British upper-class culture. The excerpt, which was given the derogatory title 'A Jap Leader's Advice to Boys', brought Japanese and British culture together through their similar, longstanding traditions of honour and duty.

> In many points the ideas of Englishmen and Japanese are the same. The code of honour of the Samurai is the same as the English gentleman's code of honour, and it is of vital importance to Japan that you English boys should maintain the high ideals of your fathers, and it is of equal importance to England that the rising generation in Japan should inherit the honourable spirit of the Samurai.[100]

In establishing a connection between the traditions of both nations, Kikuchi emphasised the importance for both Japanese and English to carry on the legacies of their ancestors.

Kikuchi charged his audience with the grave duty, 'to maintain the supremacy of England; the task is a difficult one, but must be fulfilled'.[101] This sombre rhetoric concluded with an appeal to work together: 'Let us foster the spirit of friendliness now existing between England and Japan; let us maintain the alliance, for it is an alliance that tends towards the peace and prosperity of the whole world'.[102] This suggested that the preservation and propagation of English

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[98] P. V. Ramaswami Raju (d. 1897) studied law at University of College London and was admitted into the Inner Temple, London in the 1880s. He contributed to the *BOP* the article 'Some Indian Boys' Games' (1883). Aviet Agabeg, LL. B., 'The Professions, and How to Enter Them' (1883) 'The Indian Civil Service' (1883), studied at St. John's College, Cambridge and was the first Asian barrister allowed into the Inner Temple. Said to be from Calcutta but also possibly of Armenian descent. Married to Welsh opera singer Sarah Edith Wynne.

[99] The title Baron appears to be part of the Japanese peerage system.

[100] Anon, 'A Jap Leader's Advice to Boys', *BOP*, 31 August 1907, pp. 766-767 (p. 766). [Taken from a speech by Baron Kikuchi Dairoku (d. 1917), Minister of Education in Japan (1901-1905)].

[101] *Ibid*.

[102] *Ibid*., p. 767.

ideals were only possible through the political and military alliances formed between these countries. Bradley Deane writes: 'Japan's rapid emergence as an imperial power was widely admired by Edwardians, particularly after its victory over the Russian fleet in 1905 and entry into a naval alliance with Britain in 1902; the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty in 1905'.[103] This article was a unique opportunity for readers to consider cultural similarities with the foreign Other. However, details, such as the article's racist title, were a reminder that the foreigner within the *Boy's Own Paper* was always situated at the margins.

David Ker: The Public Schoolboy Abroad

Depictions of the heroic public schoolboy, as described in Chapter 2, were not limited to stories of school life. Increasingly, the public schoolboy shouldered the responsibility for the future of the British Empire. A. B. Copper's poem 'There is a Breed of Mighty men' directly places the adolescent male at the heart of the imperial cause. The opening lines, 'There is an Empire of the earth/ Which every zone embraces,/ And you and I are heirs by birth/ Of all its leagues and races', is a charge to the male reader to shoulder his manly responsibility in maintaining the success of the British Empire.[104] Adventure stories reinforced the idea that the British Empire was the adolescent male's inheritance. As John M. MacKenzie observes: 'Boy heroes were invariably placed in the setting of great contemporary or historical events, thereby personalising details of colonial wars and imperial expansion'.[105] In essence, the act of inhabiting these fictional spaces became the symbolic space of transition from childhood fantasy to adult responsibility. This is clearly seen in David Ker's 'The Finder of the White Elephant; or, An English Boy at the Court of Siam' (1895-96) where the archetypal public schoolboy hero is transported from the playing fields of England to the exotic and potentially dangerous landscape of Southeast Asia.

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[103] Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 140.
[104] Cooper, p. 59.
[105] John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 207.

The story is centred on Jack Postlethwaite, a student of Marlborough and son of a British diplomat, who joins his father stationed in Siam (present day Thailand). Although never officially taken as a British colony, Siam was a place of political unrest and was of great interest to English, French, and American powers. The complexity of the political and military tension between Siam, England, France, and the United States reflect national stereotypes, which reinforce political alliances and create a hierarchy of power with the English taking the lead. The political situation is outlined:

> There are two parties at the Court of Siam just now, one of which is for making friends with England, adopting European improvements, and, in short, going in, heart and soul, for progress and civilisation. The opposition party, on the other hand, is made up of what we should call strong Conservatives, who are opposed to reforms and new ideas of every kind, and as fully bent upon keeping out all foreigners as even the neighbours the Chinese.[106]

In Siam and Burma, the white elephant was considered to have sacred powers and was associated with war and fertility. As the editor explained to one reader through the correspondence pages, 'The King of Siam presents a white elephant to such of his courtiers as he wants to ruin, as it must be kept in great state and is perfectly useless – even to a Barnum'.[107] Because of this tradition, the white elephant also came to be defined as 'a burdensome or costly objective, enterprise, or possession'.[108] This association suggests that Ker's story was not simply about life in Siam, but about the West's responsibility to maintain political stability in the East.

Like Henty and Cox, who drew on their experiences, many of Ker's plotlines were based on his own travels. The *Boy's Own Paper* reassured one reader through the correspondence column: '[Ker] has for the last twenty years at least been travelling over the world in the interests of one of the great American dailies and

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[106] David Ker, 'Finder of the White Elephant; or, An English Boy at the Court of Siam', *BOP*, 30 November 1895, pp. 129-131 (p. 130).
[107] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 24 May 1890, p. 544. [P. T. Barnum was an American showman famous for his circus business Barnum & Bailey's.]
[108] 'white elephant, n. 2', *OED Online* [accessed 10 May 2015]

the "B.O.P."'.[109] Within his stories, Ker also included footnotes and asides that testified to the authenticity of the details and events he depicted. This further enforced the credibility of the author and informed the reader that Ker's depictions of the foreign landscape and its inhabitants were accurate. The genre crossover between adventure fiction and travel writing is further enforced within the text with Jack, who resolves to become 'an author himself, and is manfully determined [. . .] to write an actual *romance*'.[110] Jack entitles his forthcoming story 'The Secret of a Siamese Temple: A Tale of the Far East' and his act of writing mirrors Ker's own credibility in the narrative and follows in the tradition of nineteenth-century travel writing of adventurers and special correspondents. 'The power to narrate', Said observes, 'or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them'.[111] David Spurr furthers this argument, observing:

> The metaphorical notion of the writer as colonizer ought to be considered as more than a mere figure of speech [. . .] In fact the structures of writing and those of political power can never be wholly distinguished from one another, and the writer already colonizes that part of discourse which is subject to negation.[112]

It is through this act of writing that Jack becomes the author of his experiences in Siam and the resulting double narrative of Ker and Jack within the text functions as an integral aspect of masculine and colonial development. Furthermore, it emphasises the authorial control over the imperial landscape, the voice of the English author becoming the creator and historian of the world he describes.

'The Finder of the White Elephant', while not written in the first-person, focuses on Jack's impressions of Siamese culture to reinforce the Anglocentric worldview promoted throughout the *Boy's Own Paper*. This approach is structured on what JanMohamed describes as 'a field of diverse yet interchangeable oppositions between white and black, good and evil, superiority and inferiority,

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[109] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 8 July 1899, p. 656. [Ker wrote for numerous newspapers including the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Times*.]
[110] 'Finder of the White Elephant', 9 November 1895, pp. 83-84 & 86-87 (p. 86).
[111] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. xiii.
[112] Spurr, p. 93.

civilization and savagery, intelligence and emotion, rationality and sensuality, self and Other, subject and object'.[113] The people Jack encounters while in Siam are described using these reductive oppositions, characterising the foreign Other as animal-like, effeminate, and deceitful. The following passage is characteristic of the imagery Jack uses to describe the local inhabitants:

> Secretly chuckling at the thought of the astonishment that such policemen would cause in the streets of London, bold Jack went forward through the place-gate, past an odd little monkey-like sentry in a white sun-helmet of East Indian pattern, and a rather shabby red jacket that had evidently belonged to some British grenadier. This military Tom Thumb, like everything else in that enchanted palace, seemed more half asleep; and, indeed, the only creatures that showed any sign of life were a brace of Australian emus, who were pacing up and down the lawn inside with a protecting air, which moved our hero to remark, with a schoolboy grin, that here the sentinels seemed to be geese and the geese to be sentinels.[114]

This scene, situated at the entrance to the 'enchanted palace', adopts fairy-tale imagery, briefly creating an atmosphere similar to something out of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (1864). The 'monkey-like sentry' dressed in a mismatched uniform fashioned from various British military paraphernalia produces a colonial amalgamation of Western hand-me-downs. Frederick V. Mulhauser, writing on George Manville Fenn's novel *The Rajah of Dah* (1891), examines how Fenn employed descriptions of dress as a distinguishing feature between civilised and uncivilised. He observes that 'one character announces that "we English can wear our clothes without looking foolish, but they can't wear English things with out being scarecrows"'.[115] The description of this 'military Tom Thumb' wearing the jacket of a British Grenadier (a highly regarded regiment known for their imposing physical stature) accentuates the absurdity of his physical appearance and the attempt to emulate British power. Bookended by Jack's 'chuckling' and his 'schoolboy grin', this scene becomes, at the expense of the foreign Other, a private joke between the English public schoolboy protagonist and the British reader at

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[113] JanMohamed, p. 63.
[114] 'Finder of the White Elephant', 12 October 1895, pp. 17-19 (p. 18).
[115] Frederick V. Mulhauser, 'A Juvenile View of the Empire: G. M. Fenn' *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 2 (1963), 410- 424 (p. 413).

home. Unthreatened and amused by this apparent parody of civilisation, Jack accesses the palace with an air of colonial entitlement.

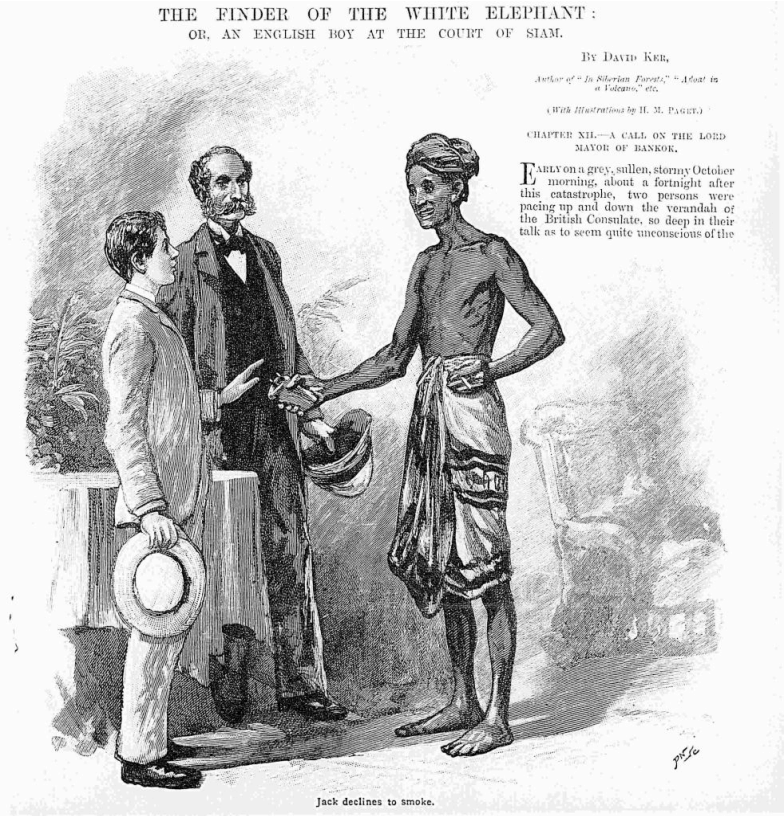
The fairy tale imagery continues as Jack enters the grounds of, as he describes, 'Sleeping Beauty's Palace' with a 'garden which appeared to have come bodily out of the "Arabian Nights"' and offers another instance in which Western and Eastern culture meet.[116] However, what he finds most striking is stumbling across a Siamese boy, whom he later discovers is Prince Suriwongse, playing a game of croquet. '"Well, what next?" growled the scandalised Jack. "To think of these fellows taking up croquet! Why, I shouldn't wonder if they were to try to play *cricket* next!"[117] The boy asks Jack to play a game and 'From the very first stroke, the Siamese took the lead and kept it, with such an ease which Jack, in spite of his natural indignation that a "foreigner" presuming to do anything better than an Englishman, could not help admiring'.[118] Although Jack is defeated by a foreigner at an English game, he is still depicted as heroic for being a good sport. As John Springhall observes: 'Games and physical exercises supposedly built up the national character and thereby contributed to the Empire's greatness, hence the link between sports and the perpetuation of the imperial mission was constantly made in the *Boy's Own Paper*.'[119] Having bonded over sport, Jack becomes Suriwongse's tutor, teaching him the things that every British schoolboy should know, including how to play cricket. Eventually, the Siamese king, wanting the best for his nephew, decides to send Suriwongse back to Marlborough, with Jack employed as the prince's companion. Jack's response is: 'I say, won't the folks in England be astonished when they find that he can play cricket and croquet, and all that, every bit as well as they can themselves!'.[120] To which Mr Postlethwaite responds: 'And you, as his teacher [. . .] will be a still greater hero in their eyes than himself!'.[121] Even the Siamese Prince, who speaks English and can expertly play English games, is depicted as a novelty souvenir Jack picked up on his travels, a pet

[116] 'Finder of the White Elephant', 12 October 1895, p. 18.
[117] *Ibid*.
[118] *Ibid*., p. 19.
[119] Springhall, 'Building Character', pp. 62-63.
[120] 'Finder of the White Elephant', 23 May 1896, p. 535.
[121] *Ibid*.

that he has skilfully taught to imitate the real hero of the story, the British public schoolboy. It also sends the message that the average public schoolboy has more masculine authority than a foreign prince.

British masculine and racial superiority are further validated through the juxtaposition between Jack and Siamese royalty. This is portrayed in the suggested effeminacy of the Siamese prince's physical appearance where, once again, dress is a key signifier of masculinity. As Tamara Hunt comments: 'conquering countries often attributed "feminine" characteristics to all peoples as a means of explaining characteristics that from the colonial point of view were unfamiliar and undesirable [. . .] thereby legitimizing colonial rule as a reflection of male superiority which was seen as natural'.[122] This attribution of 'feminine characteristics' is demonstrated in H. M. Paget's accompanying illustration. Here Prince Dewan wears only a sarong (called a penoong in the text) and lacks any facial or body hair, giving him the appearance of an adolescent rather than an adult. **[Figure 6]** Jack, on the other hand, is dressed in a smart English suit characteristic of a young gentleman. Mr Postlethwaite, standing in the background, does not intervene in this interaction between his son and the prince, but his figure is a strong reminder of Britain's political presence. The contrast between Jack and his father, both in Western dress, and the Siamese prince's partial nudity and feminine style of clothing accentuates their cultural differences. The illustration depicts when Jack 'declined the offer of his [Dewan's] well-filled cigar-case, saying that he had never learned to smoke'.[123] Jack's decision to abstain is considered foolish: '"In my country, *little boy* smoke all same big man!" said the Prince, serenely unconscious of the agony inflicted by this remark on poor Jack, who considered himself a *man* already'.[124] Yet, despite this attack on his masculinity, Jack refrains from taking a cigar. His refusal not only provides an anti-smoking message to young readers, but it is a strong reminder that even at the

[122] Tamara Hunt, 'Introduction', in *Women and the Colonial Gaze*, ed. by Tamara L. Hunt and Micheline R. Lessard (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 1-14 (p. 1).
[123] 'Finder of the White Elephant', 28 December 1895, pp. 193-195 (p. 193).
[124] *Ibid*.



THE FINDER OF THE WHITE ELEPHANT:
OR, AN ENGLISH BOY AT THE COURT OF SIAM.

By David Ker,

Author of "In Siberian Forests," "About in a Volcano," etc.

(*With Illustrations by* H. M. Paget.)

CHAPTER XII.—A CALL ON THE LORD MAYOR OF BANKOK.

Early on a grey, sullen, stormy October morning, about a fortnight after this catastrophe, two persons were pacing up and down the verandah of the British Consulate, so deep in their talk as to seem quite unconscious of the

Jack declines to smoke.

Figure 6: Illustration by H. M. Paget for David Ker, 'Finder of the White Elephant; or, An English Boy at the Court of Siam', *BOP*, 28 December 1895, p. 193. © The British Library Board, P.P.5993.u.

expense of looking unmanly to foreigners, maintaining British values abroad is a true demonstration of masculinity.

The complexity of racial hierarchy and political control is further considered in conjunction with the presence of Western women within the colonial setting. The role of women in the *Boy's Own Paper* will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, but the characterisation of the American journalist Josephine Wrightwell in 'The Finder of the White Elephant' is central to the story's relationship with the foreign Other and, therefore, requires discussion here. Josephine (Jo), an American female journalist, becomes like a sister to Jack while they are in Siam. When Jack finds calling her Jo strange because 'Joe's a boy's name', she explains:

> I was named after that girl 'Jo' in Louise Alcott's story of *Little Women*. Miss Alcott always called herself my literary godmother, and sure enough, it was through her that I made my first start in writing.[125]

Her namesake, Jo March, was characterised by her frankness, her tomboy behaviour, and her aspirations of becoming a writer. Josephine is similarly portrayed as a modern young woman following the literary tradition of feminist authors such as Alcott. Representations of the 'New Woman' in the *Boy's Own Paper* were rare, and the characterisation of Josephine as an unmarried American journalist living in a foreign country is evidence of the paper's response to wider society's changing views of gender roles. However, details such as her being referred to as both a girl and a woman, demonstrate a struggle to situate comfortably an unmarried woman within social conventions. In casting Josephine as a 'tomboyish' American, the story is able to address the changing role of women without directly representing these qualities in a British female character.

Josephine is first introduced during an episode in which she saves a lame Siamese servant boy from being trampled on by a runaway elephant. After witnessing this event, Jack exclaims: 'Well, I know only *one* woman who could have dared such a deed as that [. . .] Miss Josephine Wrightwell, of the *New York Comet*!'.[126] Singling out Josephine as the 'one' woman capable bravery in such a moment of crisis indicates the uniqueness of female heroism. Her bravery is measured against masculine traits as is reflected in the descriptions of her actions: 'And very pluckily she did it [. . .] There are not many *men* who would have cared to do as much'.[127] To which Jack's father replied:

> Well, an American's not usually wanting in *courage* [. . .] and *she* has enough for half a dozen. She was at Odessa as a correspondent when I was there some years ago (for, young as she is, she's already one of the best lady-journalists in New York), and when the great fire came, I saw her drag a paralysed old man out of his burning cottage just in time to escape a crash of blazing timbers that would have crushed them both.[128]

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[125] 'Finder of the White Elephant', 2 November 1895, pp. 65-67 (p. 66).
[126] *Ibid*.
[127] 'Finder of the White Elephant', 26 October 1895, pp. 51-52 & 54 (p. 51).
[128] *Ibid*.

However, in rescuing a young street urchin with an injured foot and a paralysed elderly man, Josephine's bravery does not threaten gender conventions but rather confirms the stereotypical idea that the female instinct is to care for the weak and vulnerable. In both situations, she emulates manly heroism but does not overstep middle-class gender boundaries. As Kelly Boyd observes:

> The Victorian tales reveal very little anxiety about that status of the two sexes and male characters spent precious little time on trying to prove their dominance over women. At the same time female characters rescued themselves without feeling the need to humiliate the heroes. The general self-confidence of male heroes was mirrored in the depiction of heroines.[129]

This is evident in the *Boy's Own Paper*'s inclusion of female heroes, such as Josephine, who did not undermine the masculinity, but rather supported it.

In return for Josephine's bravery, Tamasan (the rescued boy) insists on being her personal servant, or as Mrs Van Cruller calls him 'a volunteer slave – a slave of his own *free*-will'.[130] During an episode in which the American Consulate is under siege by the rebels, Tamasan pays the ultimate price for his loyalty by shielding Josephine from an attack of gunfire.

> 'Never mind! [. . .] white lady good to Tamasan – Tamasan glad to die for white lady!' These were his last words; and the brave American girl, from whom all her own sufferings could not wring one sign of weakness, let fall a silent tear upon the dead face of her child-martyr.[131]

Tamasan's expression of loyalty unto death correlates with a wider recurring theme of self-sacrifice within the adventure story genre. His death scene is not illustrated but a similar episode from Ker's story 'A Bold Climber; or, for an Empire' (1900) was illustrated by Alfred Pearse. The image depicts the moment in which Nag the Koleree 'Received the ball intended for his master'.[132] Demonstrations of such extreme loyalty were not uncommon in the pages of the *Boy's Own Paper*. These characters were presented as martyrs for the colonial efforts, but along with their action of bravery was a comment on their apparent

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[129] Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), p. 171.
[130] 'Finder of the White Elephant', 2 November 1895, pp. 66-67.
[131] 'Finder of the White Elephant', 2 May 1896, pp. 487-488 & 490 (p. 490).
[132] David Ker, 'A Bold Climber; or, for an Empire', *BOP*, 3 March 1900, pp. 337-339 (p. 337).

expendability. This perpetuated the notion that the life of a Western person was more valuable than that of the foreign Other.

In many ways the characters of Jack and Jo run parallel: they are both writers; at one point Jack saves the Suriwongse from being attacked by a panther while Josephine saves Tamasan from being trampled by an elephant; and neither have travelled to Siam on their own as Jack is there with his father and Jo is under the guardianship of Mrs Van Crueller. However, the limit of their success in the colonial environment is determined by traditional gender roles. Although she receives praise for her bravery, her strength is depleted by emotional strain. After the attack on the American Consulate and witnessing the death of Tamasan, Josephine decides to leave her work in Siam and go back to the United States to live under the care of General and Mrs Crueller and therefore retreats into a more traditional female role. In contrast, Jack thrives in the masculine space of the rebellion and is an asset to his father who successfully prevents a military coup to overthrow the king of Siam.

Conclusion

On the surface, the *Boy's Own Paper* depicted the British Empire as an exhilarating product of industrialism, capitalism, and scientific advancement. Travel writing, adventure fiction, and missionary reports transformed the foreign landscape into a recognisable part of the British Empire. Ymitri Mathison explains:

> Adventure fiction rehearsed the colonial experience and offered a conduit to capitalism's economic and individual desires. The genre codified and mapped [. . .] the empire's exotic objects, lands and peoples so that they could be more readily consumed by a wide spectrum of the public – in particular, the middle class.[133]

The adventure fiction published in the *Boy's Own Paper* addressed these imperial objectives while the paper's non-fiction literature dealt mostly with missionary

[133] Ymitri Mathison, 'Maps, Pirates, and Treasure: The commodification of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century Boys' Adventure Fiction', in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, ed. by Dennis Denisoff (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 173-185 (pp. 173-174).

efforts abroad. Read together, their ambitions of colonial rule and religious propagation advocated the legitimacy of colonial expansion as a means of spreading British civilisation amongst those nations considered less advanced.

Christopher Banham claims that the *Boy's Own Paper*'s 'authors and readers embraced empire from the outset'.[134] While it is true that adventure literature was a staple of the paper, its attitude towards empire was far more complicated than Banham's statement would lead us to believe. The RTS was a missionary organisation and many of its members were opposed to the glorification of war. The *Boy's Own Paper*'s emphasis on historical romances and adventure demonstrated a growing cultural tendency to associate the British Imperialism with an inherited national identity built on military victories. The paper very firmly stated: 'We never give opinions on current politics'.[135] But through its correspondence columns it did offer practical advice to boys wishing to join the navy or move to the colonies. This was not in direct support of warfare but an acceptance that joining the military was a respectable or eventuality for many of its readers.

Support for the colonial enterprise is evident in the paper's choice of authors. Banham does rightfully addresses that many writers who contributed adventure literature drew from their own experiences living and working in the colonies. This aspect was critical to the *Boy's Own Paper*'s objective to entertain and instruct. As Andrea White observes: 'So closely allied with travel writing, a genre that aspired to fact, after all, adventure fiction came to be viewed as a special case, demanding more credibility than other fictions'.[136] The importance of authorial credibility in the *Boy's Own Paper* was undoubtedly stressed in order to justify the scenes of violence and militarism portrayed in a publication that wanted to distinguish itself from the sensationalism of the 'penny dreadfuls'. In this sense adventure literature in the *Boy's Own Paper* offered a hybrid of fiction and travel

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[134] Christopher Banham, '"England and America Against the World": Empire and the USA in Edwin J. Brett's Boys of England, 1866-99', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 40 (2007), 151-171 (p. 152).
[135] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 06 September 1884, pp. 783-784 (p. 783).
[136] White, p. 40.

writing that emphasised the authenticity of their overlapping depictions of the wider British Empire.

Increasingly, the *Boy's Own Paper* portrayed the ideal masculine hero-figure within a colonial context. The heroes portrayed in adventure literature, as Robert H. MacDonald observes, 'told their readers that the great masculine rite of passage was experienced in adventure, and adventure had exploration and conquest as its defining symbols'.[137] Representations of soldiers, settlers, merchants, and missionaries contributed to the growing image of British masculinity abroad. Western intervention, through missionary work or colonialism, was justified through the *Boy's Own Paper*'s relentless depiction of the foreign Other as being intellectually, morally, and physically inferior. In this chapter's introduction, Said reminded us that these were not accurate representations of the foreign Other. Instead, we can clearly see that the *Boy's Own Paper*'s depiction of the British hero's foreign counterpart revealed, as Jan Mohamed termed it, 'the colonist's self-image'.

These negative stereotypes of the foreign Other aided in the perpetuation of a macho image of the British masculine ideal. As seen in Henty's 'The Fetish Hole' and Cox's 'Nearly Eaten', the foreign Other's inability to govern their own land effectively provided testimony for the need of British military intervention. These colonial texts also used linguistic representations to emphasise cultural and intellectual hierarchical differences between the British and their foreign counterparts. This practise of mimicking the Pidgin English used by many colonial subjects both increased and reduced the threat of the foreign Other. The seemingly shambolic appropriation of Western culture by the local inhabitants depicted in texts such Ker's 'Finder of the White Elephant' was portrayed as comical, while in Cox's 'Nearly Eaten' the Haitian figures are portrayed as cultural cannibals. These texts exemplify how the misrepresentation of the foreign Other in adventure literature resulted in the rewriting of the foreign Other's cultural history.

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[137] Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 209-210.

This chapter has examined masculinity within the colonial setting and has considered how adventure literature offered a place where middle-class morality and masculinity were defined as inherently British national qualities. The paper's recognition of imperialist responsibility, as seen in its depictions of military heroes such as General Gordon, also portrayed the increasing association between the Christian mission to civilise and the military expansion of the British Empire. Furthermore, in juxtaposing the British hero-figure with the stereotyped foreign Other, adventure literature revealed a growing concern over definitions of British masculinity. Beneath the façade of patriotism and imperial ambition, there were deep-rooted political and logistical complexities of operating a global empire. Writing on the author George Manville Fen, Mulhauser astutely observes: 'Fen perhaps had his telescope the wrong way around, and wrote about Asia as it might be, or ought to be, under England's care'.[138] In many ways, this is precisely how the *Boy's Own Paper* looked at the larger world, through the wrong end of the telescope. Located in the wider landscape of the British Empire, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s adventure literature looked outwards to the unknown and delivered an exotic world to the British reader. However, by depicting the foreign landscape as hostile and its inhabitants as inferior, the world it created turned the gaze inwards, exposing the expectations, prejudices, and anxieties of British national identity at the end of the nineteenth century.

[138] Mulhauser, p. 411.

Chapter 5: Representations of Women in the *Boy's Own Paper*

> We are by no means sure that what suits the girls will suit the boys. It is not to be expected that boys will tell us that they like girls' papers best, but we have numerous shy little notes from girls, whispering that ours is by far the preferable style! We encourage them not; we acknowledge them not; but we go on our way rejoicing.
>
> Anon, *Boy's Own Paper* (1884)[1]

> I admire the dear old 'B.O.P.' I have taken it since 1887, and, though I am an 'old girl' now, nearly twenty-two, I only value it more and more as the years pass by.
>
> Anon, *Boy's Own Paper* (1899)[2]

Introduction: Locating Women in the *Boy's Own Paper*

The objective of this chapter is to expand the discussion of nineteenth-century masculinity by delivering the first in-depth critique of the role of women in the *Boy's Own Paper* as both contributors and fictional and non-fictional characters. In much the same way that male characters were measured against a code of masculinity, female characters were upheld to preconceived notions of womanly behaviour. I have chosen to examine a selection of literature that exemplifies the variety of contexts in which women were represented in the publication. This includes fictional characterisations, true-life accounts, and illustrations. In doing so, I will initiate the discussion of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s attitude toward acceptable gender roles and examine how the portrayal of women confirmed and challenged gender stereotypes. Together, the ideologies of masculinity and femininity were seen as complementary and formed a unified, operating model of middle-class social values. In developing a broader understanding of gender in the *Boy's Own Paper*, this chapter reveals the contradictions and inconsistencies in the publication's portrayal of the feminine ideal. Bearing in mind the popularity of the

[1] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 15 March 1884, p. 384.
[2] Anon, 'Words of Cheer', *BOP*, 17 June 1899, p. 607.

Boy's Own Paper with female readers, the construction of gendered roles and relationships influenced both male and female adolescents.

The preceding chapters of this thesis have established how the *Boy's Own Paper* developed a masculine ideal by perpetuating the themes of 'muscular Christianity', the public school ethos, hero-worship, and British authority in a colonial context. These tropes, while commonly discussed when researching the masculine imagery presented in nineteenth-century juvenile literature, require contextualisation in relation to broader gender paradigms. In their introduction to *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, Michael Roper and John Tosh write:

> Following the precedent set by men like Thomas Carlyle, historians have for too long separated public and private, writing about the public domain as if it were exclusively male, and confining women to the private and domestic realms. 'Manliness' has been discussed as a facet of public school education or British authority in the Empire; but as we have already indicated, its relationship to women and to constructions of femininity has largely been ignored. The consequence is that both women's agency in the public sphere and the scope of men's private lives have tended to be denied.[3]

This widely accepted methodology perpetuates a disjointed perspective and ignores the complexities of nineteenth-century gender roles. Sean Gill argues that 'we need to go beyond the oversimplified generalizations implied by labels such as "The Angel in the House" or "Muscular Christianity" as if they represent a straightforward mirroring of Victorian Christian understandings of gender'.[4] Recurring motifs such as 'the angel in the house' and 'muscular Christianity' were clearly employed by the *Boy's Own Paper*, but it is important to follow Gill's advice and investigate gender in the publication beyond the preconceived dichotomy of public/male and private/female in order to deliver an in-depth study of the tensions held between ideological models and socially practiced gender roles.

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[3] Michael Roper and John Tosh, 'Introduction', *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. by Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 1-24 (pp. 12-13).

[4] Sean Gill, 'How Muscular Was Victorian Christianity? Thomas Hughes and the Cult of Christian Manliness Reconsidered', *Studies in Church History*, 34 (1998), 164-178 (p. 429).

In light of this, it is imperative to examine the *Boy's Own Paper*'s attitude towards girlhood and womanhood in order to deliver a comprehensive analysis of masculinity in the publication. Joseph Bristow argues: 'Women rarely appear in *B.O.P.*. (There was, however, a proportion of women authors. The paper advertised for such things as perambulators, so it seems that mothers were expected to cast an approving eye on its pages.).'[5] Overall, the *Boy's Own Paper* did promote an androcentric perspective by publishing literature written predominantly by male authors who wrote about male hero-figures. However, upon closer examination of the publication, it is evident that Bristow fails to adequately address the role of women in the *Boy's Own Paper*. We are already aware of the popularity of the *Boy's Own Paper* with nineteenth-century female readers, as established in Chapter 1, which demonstrates that the publication extended beyond its intended masculine audience. Furthermore, beginning with the first issue of the *Boy's Own Paper*, women authors contributed to the publication across various genres including adventure fiction, school stories, and travel narratives. Authors, including Mrs. (Elizabeth) Eiloart, Isabel Suart Robson[6], and Mrs. (Elizabeth) Aubrey Le Blond, were published in the paper with their marital title or under their full names.[7] Other contributors, for example S. S. (Sarah Stuart) Robbins, were published using just their initials, while others wrote either anonymously or pseudonymously.[8]

This practice appears to have been employed throughout the duration of the publication, as author Gillian Freeman attests to in her account of contributing to the *Boy's Own Paper* in the 1950s. 'I must have been one of the few women to write for the "Boys' Own Paper"', Freeman wrote in *The Guardian* (London, 1967), 'The readers, of course, did not know that I penetrated their masculine fortress as I

[5] Bristow, p. 40.
[6] Robson contributed no less than nineteen articles to the *BOP*.
[7] Chess problems formulated by Mrs. Sophie Schett and Mrs. W. J. Baird were also regularly published.
[8] Women artists were even less prominent in the *Boy's Own Paper* and based on the research conducted for this chapter, I have only come across a single example. Several paintings by Hilda Walker were reproduced as colour plates during the 1910s. This is an area that would benefit from further research.

was made to drop my Christian name and become merely G. Freeman'.[9] The following week, *The Guardian* published Jack Cox's response: 'BOP always had girl readers, and lady contributors in plenty who preferred to use masculine pseudonyms or, more simply, initials.'[10] This public exchange, while occurring much later than the defined parameters of this study, discloses underlying tensions regarding the role of women in the *Boy's Own Paper*. While the *Boy's Own Paper* appeared to give some women a voice in its publication, the obscuration of other female contributors makes it difficult to ascertain how many of the paper's unnamed authors were women. The treatment of women in the *Boy's Own Paper* remains unexamined and Bristow's parenthetical acknowledgement appears to perpetuate the marginalisation of female contributors in the realm of nineteenth-century periodical publishing. This chapter examines the role of women in the *Boy's Own Paper* and considers how gender ideals were addressed in the publication.

The Heroine; or, 'The Brave Little Woman'

In 1876, Samuel Smiles observed: 'We do not often hear of great women, as we do of great men.'[11] He went on to explain: 'But that devotion to duty which marks the heroic character has more often been exhibited by women in deeds of charity and mercy.'[12] Unlike the masculine bravado praised through the *Boy's Own Paper* in adventure narratives, the 'heroic character' of women often took the Smilesean form of discretion and humility. In response to Joseph Bristow's observation that nineteenth-century adventure fiction characterised the adolescent boy as hero, Michelle J. Smith asks: 'If the young boy hero found himself immortalised in texts

[9] Gillian Freeman, 'BOP V POP', *The Guardian (1959-2003),* 24 January 1967, p. 6 <http://search.proquest.com/docview/185261138?accountid=10472> [accessed October 26, 2015]. [Freeman, later known for her novel *The Leather Boys* (1961), contributed the following stories and articles to the *BOP*: 'Midget Sub Men Were Underwater Heroes' (1955), 'Golf Goes to School' (1955), 'Four Days Run with the Fair' (1956), and 'Men Behind the News Cameras' (1956).]
[10] Jack Cox, 'Letters', *The Guardian*, 31 January 1967, p. 4 <http://search.proquest.com/docview/185225821?accountid=10472> [accessed October 26, 2015].
[11] Samuel Smiles, *Character* (London: John Murray 1876), p. 43.
[12] *Ibid*.

"everywhere", what of the young girl reader?'.[13] This is a particularly pertinent question considering the popularity of boys' adventure fiction amongst female readers. Taking Salmon's study of juvenile reading habits and the discussion of the correspondence pages of the *Boy's Own Paper* as set out in Chapter 1, it would appear that these texts offered a form of aspirational hero-worship that was generally absent in literature written specifically for adolescent girls. Norman Vance notes the general absence of female hero-figures:

> War and religion gave the Victorians their pantheon of contemporary heroes and hero-worshipping sub-literature to celebrate them. Yet Florence Nightingale was almost the only female counterpart to General Gordon or Dr Livingstone in the popular imagination. It was still felt that women should normally be private and almost anonymous. But the imagination perpetually seeks ideal figures, women as well as men.[14]

Unquestionably, the heroism in the *Boy's Own Paper* was portrayed as a masculine quality. It was also inextricably associated with a British national identity and, therefore, maintained a universally attractive appeal.

'The term hero emerged in antiquity to describe an idealised male warrior', observes Max Jones, '[and] from these classical origins, heroic narratives have demarcated gender difference by marking certain characteristics as quintessentially male, while relegating women into an auxiliary position as mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, lovers, foes'.[15] Adventure narratives published in the *Boy's Own Paper*, including Kingston's 'From Powder Monkey to Admiral' (Chapter 2) and Henty's 'The Fetish Hole' (Chapter 4), were primarily set in a homosocial environment and focused on the power struggles between British hero-figures and their foreign counterparts. In both instances, their actions were underscored with a responsibility to provide financial stability for their female relatives and spouses although these women were given minor parts in the overall plot development. The *OED* defines a hero as 'The central character or protagonist

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[13] Michelle J. Smith, *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 16.
[14] Norman Vance, 'Heroic Myth and Women in Victorian Literature', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 12 (1982), 169-185 (p. 169).
[15] Max Jones, 'What Should Historians Do With Heroes? Reflections on Nineteenth- and Twentieth –Century Britain', *History Compass*, 5 (2007), 439-454 (p. 440).

(often, but esp. in later use not necessarily, male)'[16] and '[a] man (or occas. a woman) distinguished by the performance of courageous or noble actions, esp. in battle'.[17] By its very definition, a hero was considered masculine. Heroism, however, is more broadly defined as 'heroic action or conduct, great bravery' and in the context of the *Boy's Own Paper* was applied to both men and women.[18]

As Vance states above, few popular female hero-figures were celebrated on the same scale as her masculine counterpart. Very often, when women were credited with carrying out an act of bravery, their behaviour was defined as 'manly'. The *Girl's Own Paper* addressed this imbalance by publishing Sylvia Thorne's article 'Female Heroism' (1880), in which she explained:

> It is a very great mistake for any one to imagine, as numbers of people do, that women are destitute of bravery. Boys especially are very apt to think that women and girls are fitted only to lead a kind of passive life, and that nothing should be required of them but they should quietly pursue their ordinary avocations, with the exception perhaps of being allowed occasionally to become admiring spectators of some manly deed of valour. Their idea is that women are destined to be the protected rather than the protectors of their race; and though to a certain extent this feeling is commendable, we must not allow it to influence any of us in forming a wrong estimate of woman's true character.[19]

This lengthy quotation directly tackles many of the female stereotypes perpetuated by juvenile literature. It also expresses the frustration that many girls and women of the period shared regarding traditional gender roles. Thorne gently but firmly calls for a change in social attitudes and a fair recognition of women's active and heroic contributions thus anticipating the New Woman's demand for liberation and equality.

The *Girl's Own Paper* did publish from time to time articles that celebrated heroic deeds of girls and women, and there were a few instances in which the paper commended female recipients of the Royal Humane Society Medal. The *Boy's Own Paper* regularly published accounts with accompanying photographs of

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[16] 'hero, n.', *OED Online* [accessed 25 November 2015]
[17] *Ibid*.,
[18] 'heroism, n.', *OED Online* [accessed 25 November 2015]
[19] Sylvia Thorne, 'Female Heroism', *GOP*, 17 January 1880, pp. 43-45 (p. 43).

boys who had been awarded the Royal Humane Society Medal, but there are no records of the publication recognising female recipients. True-life accounts of female heroism in the *Boy's Own Paper* were scarce and 'A Brave Woman' (1896) is a rare example.[20] The short article begins: 'The story which our artist has so graphically depicted is just one of the kind the "B.O.P." is ever glad to tell – a story of duty bravely and simply done.'[21] This brief account, which had originally appeared in the *Chambers's Journal* (September 1880), retells the story of a woman who sailed a ship to safety after the captain (her husband) and crew had fallen ill.

> Eventually the vessel got into Brisbane Harbour, half full of water, with two sick men on board, all told, and a woman at the helm; the gallant woman bringing not only the ship, but her baby, safe into port.[22]

The accompanying full-page illustration, drawn for the *Boy's Own Paper* by A. Robertson, depicts the young woman standing at the ship's helm with the captain and the only surviving crewman resting helplessly at her feet. **[Figure 7]** The captain's weakened state is emphasised by the gentle cradling of their infant child and his apparent nursing of the ill man by his side. The image offers a scene of subtle gender role reversal in which the woman performs a physical feat of bravery more commonly associated with masculine behaviour while the husband assumes a nurturing role that would have been considered more feminine. In the brief portrayal of this woman, there is no reference to her name or nationality. Instead, she represents the ideal woman: calm in the face of a storm, dedicated to her husband and child, and exhibiting the courage required to keep them safe. Despite her quick thinking and display of physical strength, her actions are ultimately legitimised by her maternal instinct to rescue her baby.

The event originally took place in 1877 and it was widely publicised in the press, particularly in Australia as the incident took place aboard the Moorburg, a German ship that was headed from Foochow, China to Melbourne, Australia. When

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[20] In addition to the article on and illustration of Maria Boldt, the *Boy's Own Paper* also included a poetry competition based on her story. In February, the following year, the paper announced the winners of the competition and included an extract from one of the prized poems.
[21] Anon, 'A Brave Woman', *BOP*, 11 July 1896, pp. 647-648 (p. 647).
[22] *Ibid.*

Figure 7: A. Roberts, 'A Brave Woman', *BOP*, 11 July 1896, p. 648.

the National Shipwreck Society of New South Wales awarded Maria Boldt with a silver medal in acknowledgement of her heroism, the presenter proclaimed: 'the act of bravery which you have performed not only does honour to yourself, but also elevates the estimation in which we hold your sex'.[23] This statement suggests that examples of female heroism were considered an exception to the rule, an attitude still held by the *Boy's Own Paper* nearly twenty years later. The *Boy's Own Paper*, in choosing to focus on a past example of female heroism instead of a more contemporary illustration, portrays the actions of Mrs Boldt as an anomaly. At the article's conclusion, the *Boy's Own Paper* proudly announced: 'The "B.O.P." gladly

[23] Anon, 'Presentation to Mrs Boldt, of the Moorburg', *Geelong Advertiser* (Victoria, NSW), 19 July 1880, p. 3 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article150650370> [accessed 21 December 2015]

uncovers to such a woman as that!'[24] While this phrase indicates an admiration for this act of heroism, the use of 'uncover' also suggests that examples of women performing such great acts of bravery were rare and required discovery.

Betty Bevan: R. M. Ballantyne's Guardian Angel

Writing on nineteenth-century adventure fiction, Bradley Deane comments:

> Aimed at a readership of men and boys, these stories centered on interactions between male characters; women – especially British women – were driven to the narrative margins, leaving questions of masculine identity to be decided by relations between and within male groups rather than by reference to feminine virtues.[25]

Not all adventure stories relegated female characters to the margins. There were examples of women traveling abroad and actively participating in colonial efforts as seen in the portrayal of the American journalist, Josephine Wrightwell, in Ker's 'The Finder of the White Elephant' (Chapter 4). But for the most part, British female characters were portrayed more conservatively than foreign women and defined in terms that complemented wider objectives relating to domestic responsibility, imperialism, and overseas Christian missions. This is particularly evident in the writings of R. M. Ballantyne, whose story 'Twice Bought: A Tale of the Oregon Gold Fields' (1883), combines the standard tropes of adventure fiction with an explicit warning against the moral dangers associated with the pursuit of wealth.[26] Stuart Hannabuss suggests that Ballantyne, inspired by his experience working for the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, 'turn[ed] stories like *Twice Bought* [. . .] into virtual allegories with talk about the purchasing power of gold

[24] 'A Brave Woman', p. 647.
[25] Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 2.
[26] Most famously known for his Robinsonade story *Coral Island* (1858), Ballantyne was a prolific author of adventure stories and a regular contributor to the *BOP*. Eric Quayle's *Ballantyne the Brave* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1967) delivers a detailed biography of Ballantyne. However, there is only a single reference to each the *Boy's Own Paper* f248 and *Twice Bought* f282. Both references are in footnotes.

and the redemptive power of Jesus Christ's blood'.[27] When asked in an interview with the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1889, 'Do you advisedly give a religious tone to your books?', R. M. Ballantyne replied:

> Yes, decidedly. I feel very strongly on this point [. . .] Friends and reviewers have sometimes charged me with 'overdoing religion' in my books and being 'goody-goody.' It may be so, but I can only say I would rather err in that way.[28]

As discussed in Chapter 1, Hutchison aimed to include religion 'in solution and not *en bloc*' and while the majority of authors employed by the *Boy's Own Paper* followed Hutchison's objective by incorporating a moral message in their stories, Ballantyne's writing was overtly Christian.

Set in an Oregon mining camp during the mid-nineteenth century, the narrative of redemption in 'Twice Bought' is first introduced through the relationship between Tom Brixton and Fred Westly. Tom, the story's protagonist, is described as a young man who 'had been well trained in boyhood, and, with the approval of his mother, had left England for the Oregon goldfields in company with a steady, well-principled friend, who had been a playmate in early childhood and at school'.[29] When Tom's values are challenged, he succumbs to the temptations of drinking and gambling, ultimately losing all of his earnings to Gashford, known in the camp as 'the bully', in a game of dice.[30] Fred, Tom's childhood friend, unsuccessfully tries to persuade Tom to follow his example despite his claim that 'religion – or, rather, God – has saved *me* from drink and gambling'.[31] However, Tom refuses to accept Fred's moral guidance, saying, 'don't bore me with your

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[27] Stuart Hannabuss, 'Ballantyne's Message of Empire', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. by Jeffery Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 53-71 (p. 58).
[28] Anon, 'Our Note Book', *BOP*, 11 May 1889, pp. 499-500 (p. 499). [Reprinted from an interview published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 February 1889, p. 3.]
[29] R. M. Ballantyne, 'Twice Bought: A Tale of the Oregon Goldfields', *BOP*, 17 March 1883, pp. 385-387 (p. 387).
[30] *Ibid*., p. 386.
[31] *Ibid*. [The relationship between Tom Brixton and Fred Westly bears resemblance to that of Fred Batchelor and Jack Smith in Talbot Baines Reed's 'My Friend Smith' (see Chapter3). In both stories, the main characters get caught up in gambling, drinking, and getting into debt. They also experience near death situations through which they repent and become Christians.]

religious notions. Religion is all very well in the old country, but it won't work at all here at the diggin's'.[32] His rejection of Fred, who is 'always suggesting what she [Tom's mother] would say in circumstances which she has never been in and could not possibly understand', is a rejection of his mother and the Christian values associated with English civilisation.[33] Tom's religious denunciation also signifies an attempt to assert masculine authority over what he considers to be a naïve and outdated belief system. However, the rejection of Christianity results in the abandonment of all moral responsibility. When the opportunity arises to steal his gold from Gashford, Tom justifies his actions by claiming 'There is no law. Law must be taken into one's own hands'.[34] Therefore, the desire to obtain wealth overrides his personal integrity, linking Tom's moral regression with greed and the pursuit of wealth. The further Tom removes himself from the values associated with his English upbringing, the weaker he becomes both physically and in character. This form of moral sickness signifies the need for a restoration of British masculine ideals.[35]

The allegory of salvation in 'Twice Bought' directly correlates to the presence of the story's only English female character, Betty Beven. Positioned in the homosocial environment of an American frontier mining camp, Betty embodies Christian morality and British civilisation, qualities built upon the nineteenth-century ideal of woman as the 'angel in the house'. Coventry Patmore's poem *The Angel in the House* (1854) both promoted and defined the association of 'womanliness' with domesticity, an image that subsequently manifested itself throughout nineteenth-century literature. Deborah Gorham observes: 'The qualities of the Angel in the House, whether she be wife or daughter, were defined as spiritual in nature. For this reason, they took on a universal application,

[32] 'Twice Bought', 17 March 1883, p. 386.
[33] *Ibid*., p. 387.
[34] *Ibid*., pp. 386-387.
[35] While the character Tom is from England, Ballantyne was a Scottish writer. Therefore, I will refer to ideological representations within the text as British. When discussing specific textual references to Tom's background, I will refer to these as English.

transcending mere material circumstances.'[36] Throughout the text Betty is referred to as an angel and her divine, otherworldliness sets her apart from the violent masculine landscape. Elaine Showalter observes:

> The middle-class ideology of the proper sphere of womanhood, which developed in post-industrial England and America, prescribed a woman who would be a Perfect Lady, an Angel in the House, contentedly submissive to men, but strong in her inner purity and religiosity, queen in her own realm of the Home.[37]

In the context of a foreign adventure story, Betty's embodiment of the 'angel in the house' transports the moral and spiritual guidance associated with domesticity into the foreign setting and serves the dual purpose of representing and restoring Christian civilisation.

Referred to by the male characters as the 'Rose of Oregon' and the 'Beautiful Nugget', Betty embodies the Christian values of kindness, honesty, and humility.[38] It is for these qualities that she is admired, for as the narrator advises, 'we must guard the reader here from supposing that Betty Bevan was a beauty. She was not. It was the blending of the graces of body and of soul that rendered Betty so attractive'.[39] Her femininity is intrinsically linked to her unwavering Christian faith, legitimising the presence of women within a foreign context and supporting the *Boy's Own Paper*'s prevailing stance on gender. Furthermore, her untainted virtue symbolises British civilisation, values, culture, and religion, attributes that are accentuated against the rough and lawless backdrop of frontier life. This prescriptive characterisation brings the stability of British domesticity into the adventure narrative, thus falling back on the popular nineteenth-century view of the woman as the 'angel in the house'. This neutralises her prominent position within a masculine dominated environment (and genre) as she operates as a moral compass rather than an object of desire.

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[36] Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (London: Croom Helm, Ltd, 1982), p. 7.
[37] Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Charlotte Bronte to Doris Lessing*, Rev. and expanded ed. (London: Virago, 2011), p. 12.
[38] 'Twice Bought', 26 May 1883, pp. 545-547 (p. 546).
[39] 'Twice Bought', 31 March 1883, pp. 417-419 (p. 419).

However, Tom's eventual pursuit of righteousness is directly linked to his romantic pursuit of Betty. When Tom finds himself in danger of being captured by Gashford's search team, he turns to Betty for help. She reassures him: 'Whatever your crime may be, remember that there is a Saviour from sin'.[40] In addition to providing Tom with spiritual guidance that will deliver him from his sinful state, she also shows him a secret passage that will enable him to escape his immediate physical danger. However, she encourages him to 'use your freedom to escape from death – but, much more, to escape from sin'.[41] Tom emerges on the other side and 'In the strength of the new-born resolution, thus induced by the Spirit of God, he fell on his knees and tried to pray'.[42] The Biblical imagery of Tom's conversion, like Saul's on the road to Damascus, provides a strong image of spiritual and physical rebirth. Betty, again likened to a divine being, delivers Tom both spiritually and physically from the earth. For Tom 'the thought of Betty in her innocence and purity oppressed him. She rose before his mind's eye like a reproving angel'.[43] Through her purity, Tom recognises his wrongdoings. Here Betty represents the human and the divine, a guardian angel. A role she openly accepts, claiming that 'Surely God must have sent me to save your life!'[44] Betty nurses Tom back to spiritual and physical health and the more Tom embraces Betty's Christian message, the stronger he becomes physically.

In addition to providing spiritual guidance, Betty fulfils the story's various roles of daughter, sister, mother, and wife. As the only female character in the story these female roles appear interchangeable. After Betty discovers that she had been adopted as a child, she takes on her biological father's name. In changing her name, she is defining herself in terms of her male relationships. When she is reunited her brother, Edwin (also known as Stalker, the leader of a band of robbers called the 'Free-and-easy Boys'), he comments: 'If you were not so young I'd swear you were my mother'.[45] To which she replies: 'I am Betty Buxley and your

[40] 'Twice Bought', 7 April 1883, pp. 433-436 (p. 436).
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] 'Twice Bought', 14 April 1883, pp. 449-452 (p. 450).
[43] *Ibid*.
[44] 'Twice Bought', 9 June 1883, pp. 585-587 (p. 586).
[45] 'Twice Bought', 4 August 1883, pp. 713-715 (p. 714).

sister!'[46] This exchange exemplifies the text's propensity to project the various qualities associated with womanhood onto a single figure. As for marriage, 'Betty would by no means listen to Tom's proposals until, one day, her brother said he would like to see her married to Tom Brixton before he died. Then the obdurate Rose of Oregon gave in!'.[47] She fulfils her role as wife only upon her brother's blessing and insistence. As Judith Butler argues: 'the bride functions as a relational term between groups of men; she does not *have* an identity, and neither does she exchange one identity for another. She *reflects* masculine identity precisely through being the site of its absence'.[48] In the instance of Betty, this exchange signifies that her welfare and safety is Tom's responsibility. Edwin then dies 'with the word "mother" trembling faintly on his lips'.[49] Once again, the roles of sister and mother are conflated and Betty operates as a symbol of universal womanhood.

While it has been Betty's constant encouragement that restores Tom to a reputable standing, at the story's conclusion it is Tom who fulfils the heroic position of masculine protector. Betty's acceptance of his marriage proposal symbolises the final step in Tom's transformation:

> Then by marrying her I shall have a right to protect her – and she stands greatly in need of a protector in this wild country at this time, poor thing! and some one to work for her, seeing that she has no means whatever![50]

Tom earns enough money to pay off his debts, but his return to British society is made possible by Betty's financial security. She restores his reputation through her virtue but also through her inherited fortune, which enables them to move back to England. 'Twice Bought' clearly emphasises the temporary nature of women's involvement in masculine ventures. The freedom Betty experienced in Oregon is replaced by middle-class respectability. Furthermore, her missionary efforts are put aside and Betty, formerly the guardian angel of the American frontier, transforms into the domestic English 'angel of the house'.

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[46] *Ibid*.
[47] *Ibid*.
[48] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 2nd edn, (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 52.
[49] Twice Bought', 4 August 1883, p. 715.
[50] *Ibid*., p. 714.

'Sister Mary: A Public School Story'

The title of Ascott R. Hope's 'Sister Mary: A Public School Story' (1889) appears to be a contradiction as public school stories were traditionally focused on the exploits of the school's adolescent heroes. Hope provides a rare example of a female character taking centre stage within the homosocial environment of the public school, delivering 'a sad tale of orphanhood, trials, and family pride'.[51] Having been left in the charge of their wealthy uncle, Lord Foulis, after the death of their parents, Mary Robertson was forbidden contact with her younger brother, Ronald Shaw, when she married against her uncle's wishes. After the death of her husband, Mary gains employment at the public school Ronald attends, while keeping her true identity hidden. Her professional title 'sister' plays on her dual identity.

> To begin with, she was a trained hospital nurse of the class that is fast driving last generation's Sally [*sic*] Gamps out of the field. She belonged to a religious order also, wearing a Quaker-like uniform of black and white; and we were informed that she wished us to address her not as Mrs. Robertson, but as Sister Mary.[52]

From this description, it is likely that Sister Mary belonged to an Anglican nursing sisterhood.[53] 'When the Anglican Sisters entered the field [of nursing],' Carol Helmstadter and Judith Godden explain, 'they were real religious Sisters, women who belonged to a religious order but were also sisters in the sense of head nurses'.[54] The reference to the fictional character Sarah Gamp, from Charles Dickens's *Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843-1844), acknowledges the changing attitudes towards nursing as a respectable female profession. According to *The Oxford Illustrated Companion to Medicine*:

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[51] *Ibid*.
[52] Ascott R. Hope, 'Sister Mary: A Public School Story', *BOP*, 3 August 1889, pp. 697-699 (p. 697).
[53] See Susan Mumm, *All Saints Sisters of the Poor: An Anglican Sisterhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2001).
[54] Carol Helmstadter and Judith Godden, *Nursing Before Nightingale, 1815-1899* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p. xxi. Google ebook.

> Sairey Gamp [. . .] quickly became synonymous with the 'old' order of healthcare. Superstition, corruption, coarseness, age, prejudice, presumption, dirt, and drunkenness contrasted deeply with that of the 'new' nurse. The 'new' nurse embodied the ideal attributes of the emerging order of healthcare: enlightenment, rationality, science, Christian purity, innocence, virtue, youth, freshness, gentleness, hygiene, sobriety, gentility, and intelligent obedience.[55]

The '"new" nurse' was built on the reputation of Florence Nightingale (d. 1910) and Carol Dyhouse notes, 'the persistence of the myth was important, and should remind us firstly, that women's achievements were only acceptable in certain "feminine" areas like nursing'.[56]

The treatment of Mary shares many similar tropes with the characterisation of Betty in 'Twice Bought'. The justification for their presence within a homosocial environment is portrayed through their capacity to nurture the male hero-figures to moral and physical health. And in much the same way as Betty, Sister Mary functions in three distinctly feminine capacities: sister, mother, and nurse. Mary's vocation as a nurse allows her to gain access to this exclusively male environment, and she works there in one of the few accepted professions considered respectable. Her presence at the school appears to be unquestioned by the pupils: 'we all looked with no little curiosity at the new nurse when she made her first public appearance in the chapel, sitting in the chancel among the masters' families, and not in those back seats allotted to our inferior officials. From this we understood that she was to be treated as a lady.'[57] Her status is again confirmed by the narrator, who comments, 'we boys never made any doubt about her being a lady'.[58] Arlene Young observes: 'Professionalised nursing justified the entry of genteel women into the workforce and validated the professionalised working woman in other areas of endeavour.'[59] The narrator's recognition of Sister Mary as

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[55] Anne Marie Rafferty, 'Nursing – As a Profession', in *The Oxford Illustrated Companion to Medicine*, 3rd ed., ed. by Stephen Lock, John M. Last, and George Dunea (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 562-563 (p. 562).
[56] Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 74.
[57] 'Sister Mary', 3 August 1889, pp. 697-698.
[58] *Ibid*., p. 699.
[59] Arlene Young, '"Entirely a woman's question"?: Class, Gender, and the Victorian Nurse', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 13 (2008), 18-41 (p. 19).

a lady also attests to her social background, for even though she is a professional woman she also comes from an affluent upper-class family, a quality that appears to be understood without her true identity being revealed.

Unlike Miss Henniker, the housekeeper at Stonebridge House in 'My Friend Smith' (Chapter 3), who is portrayed without any maternal instinct, Mary is a likeable, if seemingly over attentive, caregiver and her presence within the public school provides a domestic refuge for the school boys and masters alike. For the most part, Sister Mary is restricted to scenes that are set in the school ground and in keeping with her role as matron. However, there is a single instance in which she oversteps her boundary. The scene takes place during a paper chase through the countryside when Ronald, leading the chase, runs into a gate that has been freshly tarred shut. The culprit of this trick is a local farmer's son who, under the instruction of the farmer, wanted to teach the public schoolboys a lesson for their repeated offense of trespassing. Eventually, the dispute results in a physical fight between Ronald and the farmer's son. The narrator describes the event:

> Ronald had never appeared so heroic to me as in this ignoble boxing bout, dirty and dusty as he was, his head held high, his lips set tight, his eyes shining with all the spirit of his warlike ancestors. So easily do schoolboys revert to the savage![60]

This reversion to savagery is also the execution of a primeval masculine display and an important moment in which Ronald, a public schoolboy who comes from a family of landed gentry, exerts his power over the working-class farmer.

During this dispute, Sister Mary enters the scene and instinctually responds: '"For shame!" she cried, in indignant tones [. . .]Why do you let this go on?"'.[61] In breaking up this fight, Sister Mary interferes with this display of Ronald's masculine authority. As seen earlier in the study of Reed's 'The Fifth Form at St. Dominic's', the homosocial environment of the public school was built upon a self-determined hierarchical structure. Ronald's priority is to establish and maintain an authoritative standing amongst his peers and with the farmer boys. Sister Mary's intervention in this episode is portrayed as a threat to Ronald's

[60] 'Sister Mary', 10 August 1889, pp. 714 -716 (p. 716).
[61] *Ibid*.

reputation and even 'compliments on his pluck could not console him for his discomfiture'.[62] Expressing his disapproval of Sister Mary's affections, he states: 'I don't want to be coddled up and made a fool of'.[63] This furthers the divide between the siblings and indicates that an active female presence in the public school culture is not natural.

Eventually, Sister Mary gains access to her brother when Ronald contracts scarlet fever during an outbreak at the school. Once again, the motif of the sickroom is employed as a place of reconciliation. Here Sister Mary cares for Ronald's physical and spiritual needs. It is during this time that the Warden, upon Sister Mary's request, gives 'Ronald his first Communion'.[64] This ritual is a confirmation of religious maturity and signifies a spiritual coming of age. However, the severity of Ronald's illness also implies that this confirmation could also be his last rites. As Miriam Bailin observes: 'the Evangelical valorization of suffering coincided with mid-Victorian domestic ideal [. . .] Illness thus became one of the principal objects of sentimental pieties about family life and female nurturance'.[65] In the story of 'Sister Mary', the sickroom is a legitimate space for the reunion of Sister Mary and Ronald.

In a dramatic revelation that echoes Betty's in 'Twice Bought', Sister Mary confesses her true identity: 'I am his sister – his real sister!'.[66] And, as with Betty and Edwin, the role of sister and mother are portrayed as interchangeable. Ronald describes Sister Mary as being 'as good as a mother to me when I was little. I can just remember how I used to call her "Mama Mary"'.[67] While the story of 'Sister Mary' situates a woman in an identifiably male environment, it does so as a means of restoring traditional gender roles, as seen with Betty in 'Twice Bought'. Once Sister Mary's identity is made known, she not only resigns from her position at the

[62] *Ibid*.
[63] 'Sister Mary', 17 August 1889, pp. 729-731 (p. 730).
[64] 'Sister Mary', 31 August 1899, pp. 762-764 (p. 764).
[65] Miriam Bailin, *The Sickroom in Victorian Fiction: The Art of Being Ill* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 11.
[66] 'Sister Mary', 31 August 1889, p. 764.
[67] 'Sister Mary', 7 September 1889, pp. 774-775 (p. 774).

school but also foregoes her profession altogether. Mary and Ronald decide to return to Scotland, subsisting on the wages Sister Mary had saved.

However, the initial outcome of this sibling reunion is at the cost of Ronald's education and social status. No longer the beneficiary of his uncle's financial assistance, he cannot remain in the expensive public school and will have to transfer to 'a cheap day-school'.[68] Ronald explains to his schoolmates:

> It will be a very different sort of shop from this, you know; but I shan't mind. They won't bother one there with Latin verses, anyhow. I think I shall become an engineer, get apprenticed in some works – corduroys, dirty hands, out to work at six in the morning, and that sort of thing. You will cut me if you meet me in the street. I am sorry to leave all you fellows, though. But I can't leave my sister, and she can't afford to keep me in white flannels and Sunday gloves.[69]

This passage emphasises the sacrifice Ronald makes in order to fulfil his brotherly responsibility. Foregoing his public school education symbolises his acceptance of a downgrade in social status and the exclusion of future opportunities that would have been made available to him should he have carried on under his uncle's patronage.

Ronald's willingness to assume his brotherly duty is ultimately rewarded when Lord Foulis is 'found dead on one of his own moors, his gun lying beside him [. . .] There were many who believed that the grim old lord [. . .] had died by his own hand'.[70] Their uncle's suicide, an act considered shameful and unmanly, confirms their rightful entitlement to the family fortune. This enables Ronald to continue with his public school studies and restores his reputation amongst his schoolmates. However, in light of their inheritance, Mary's earlier hard work and financial independence fade into the background. No longer required to earn a living, her professional role as Sister Mary, the nurse, becomes obsolete. Instead of being defined by her occupation, she is known simply as Ronald's sister Mary and, therefore, becomes known by her relationship to her only living male relative.

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[68] *Ibid*., p. 775.
[69] *Ibid*.
[70] *Ibid*.

The Transnormative Family: Restoring Domestic Harmony

In studying Ballantyne's 'Twice Bought' and Hope's 'Sister Mary', it is evident that male authors writing for the *Boy's Own Paper* did situate women in predominantly homosocial environments. Both stories consider the contribution of women outside of the traditional domestic setting; however, they also rely heavily on traditional gender roles as a means of justifying a female presence. As Cynthia Griffin Wolff warns:

> The stereotypes of women vary, but they vary in response to different masculine needs. The flattering frequency with which women appear in literature is ultimately deluding: they appear not as they are, certainly not as they would define themselves, but as conveniences to the resolution of masculine dilemmas.[71]

Therefore, it is also important to consider that while female characters in these texts were positioned in prominent roles, their main function was to offer support to the male characters. And in the case of 'Twice Bought', 'Sister Mary', and even 'From Powder Monkey to Admiral', they provide social credibility and financial stability. In these scenarios, the female character's role culminates in the restoration of a recognisably British middle and upper-class family structure.

Not all representations of women in the *Boy's Own Paper* were predicated on gender-binary stereotypes. As discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis, Elizabeth Eiloart was one of the most prominent female authors published in the *Boy's Own Paper*. Prior to writing for the *Boy's Own Paper*, Eiloart published several boys' stories, including 'The Boy with an Idea' (1872) and was most famous for her 'Ernie' novels.[72] Edward Salmon addressed Eiloart's contribution to boys' fiction, observing that 'One or two ladies have written stories for boys. "Ernie Elton at Home," and "Ernie Elton at School," are among Mrs Eiloart's best juvenile

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[71] Cynthia Griffin Wolff, 'A Mirror for Men: Stereotypes of Women in Literature', *The Massachusetts Review*, 13 (1972), 205-218 (p. 207).
[72] The story was published in the journal *Merry and Wise: A Magazine for Young People* (1865-1872), edited by Edward Hodder.

works'.[73] In *Regendering the School Story: Sassy Sissies and Tattling Tomboys* (2004), Beverly Lyon Clark dedicates a chapter to Eiloart's *Ernie Elton, The Lazy Boy* (1865) and *Ernie at School* (1867). Clark's analysis focuses on Eiloart's representations of ethnicity and otherness within the colonial setting and delivers the most substantial critique of Eiloart's boys' fiction to date. In addition to being a prolific novelist, Eiloart was also an active feminist and suffragette.[74] Sally Mitchell includes Eiloart in her study of 'a host of forgotten authoresses' who 'supplied for women of the middle classes both a means of filling leisure time and a mode of recreation'.[75] She briefly discusses Eiloart's novels *Meg* (1868) and *Woman's Wrong* (1872), concentrating on textual themes of sex outside of marriage and suicide.[76] However, despite Eiloart's contribution to nineteenth-century popular fiction and her involvement in the women's movement, little has been written about her life and writings. Eiloart's reputation as an author of fiction for both male juvenile and female adult audiences offers a unique perspective on gender roles.

The first issue of the *Boy's Own Paper* included the commencement of Eiloart's serialised story 'Jack and John: Their Friends and Their Fortunes' (1879). Eiloart's 'Jack and John' and 'The Ill-Used Boy' (see Chapter 3) were the longest fictional pieces written by a female author published in the *Boy's Own Paper* during Hutchison's editorship, demonstrating the publication's willingness to publish fiction written by women authors. Throughout her fiction, the theme of social responsibility informs the relationships forged in her stories. Chapter 3's study of Eiloart's 'The Ill-Used Boy' briefly addresses the attempt to form familial environments modelled on middle-class family ideals and performed through philanthropic responsibility. This section examines Eiloart's 'Jack and John', which

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[73] Salmon, *Juvenile Literature*, p. 120.
[74] Eiloart held suffragette meetings in her home and minutes from suffragette meetings often referenced her participation. See: Anon, 'National Society for Women's Suffrage', *Women's Penny Paper*, 13 July 1889, p. 2. *19th Century UK Periodicals* [accessed 7 January 2016]; Anon, 'Records of Events', *The Englishwoman's Review*, 15 April 1885, pp. 171-192 (p. 187). *19th Century UK Periodicals* [accessed 7 January 2016]
[75] Sally Mitchell, 'Sentiment and Suffering: Women's Recreational Reading in the 1860s', *Victorian Studies*, 21 (1977), 29-45 (p. 29).
[76] Mitchell also briefly discusses Eiloart's novel *Meg* in *The Fallen Angel: Chastity, Class and Women's Reading, 1835-1880* (1981).

offers an example of how alternative gender roles were explored through the portrayal of transnormative family structures. Writing on nineteenth-century ideals of family and domesticity, Elizabeth Thiel observes:

> Many Victorian children's novels that focus on transnormative families are characterized by what appears to be an ideological subterfuge in which alternative family groups are portrayed as akin to the 'natural,' idealized family model [. . .] as authors attempt to impose an idyllic façade onto tales of transnormative families.[77]

The ideological constructs presented in 'Jack and John' provide an alternative to the persistent stereotypes applied to both male and female characters in the majority of *Boy's Own Paper* literature. While Eiloart's writing does not contradict the general attitude the *Boy's Own Paper* held towards marriage, it does challenge the reader to consider social responsibility above selective gender constructs.

'Jack and John' delivers a coming–of-age narrative built upon ideologies of personal and social responsibility as portrayed through the friendship of two adolescent boys, Jack Carstone and John Morton. The story overlaps thematically with Eiloart's later story 'The Ill-Used Boy' (1881), with both narratives focusing on adolescent boys who are brought up without fathers. The absent father is a recurring theme throughout much of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s fiction and often serves as the catalyst for the coming-of-age narrative and the adolescent protagonist's acceptance of his masculine responsibilities. The close friendship between Jack and John, which mirrors that of their deceased fathers, suggests an inherited bond. In sharing the same name, the boys are depicted as two sides of the same character. Jack 'was christened John [. . .] But as to calling him John, it would have seemed quite out of keeping and absurd. He was just one of those boys who are Jack to everyone that knows him'.[78] Jack, a name popularly used as a slang term for a sailor, fulfils the role of protector and defender. And as for John, 'just as no one would have thought of calling the first anything but Jack, which is pleasant, careless, free-and-easy kind of a name, so John, grave, sensible, and matter-of-fact,

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[77] Thiel, pp. 9-10.
[78] Elizabeth Eiloart, 'Jack and John: Their Friends and their Fortunes', *BOP*, 8 January 1879, pp. 11-13, (p. 11).

seemed just to suit the other'.[79] John's genuine sense of moral obligation is more in keeping with his name's religious associations with John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. In defining Jack and John through the variations on their names, the reader is informed as to the role each will play in the forthcoming narrative.

The action of the text surrounds the discovery of an orphaned baby washed ashore having survived a shipwreck. John insists on adopting the child, an action that clearly demarks his first step in his journey from adolescence into adulthood. This action appears beyond his years and capabilities, but he is also following the example of his primary male role model, Enoch Green. Upon the death of Mr Morton, his trusted servant Enoch assumed the role of surrogate mother and father in raising John. Although he 'despised women [. . .] helpless Enoch certainly was not. He dug; and he scrubbed; he washed and he mended; he made all John's clothes, and some of his own'.[80] In fulfilling these traditionally female responsibilities he provides for all John's needs. However, Enoch's performance of these domestic tasks is described as clumsy and unnatural. This implies that while he competently cares for John, he does so out of duty rather than design and would benefit from female assistance.

There is only a single instance that alludes to Enoch's domestic role as being effeminate. In one scene, he is addressed as 'Mrs. Green'.[81] It is unclear whether this is a typographical error or an intentional reference to his assuming a traditionally female role as the next sentence he is referred to by the same character as Mr Green. There are, however, other more explicit criticisms of Enoch's domestic self-sufficiency. Mrs Carstone, Jack's mother, 'thought that men, when left to themselves, were the most unfortunate creatures in existence'.[82] Her commentary introduces the belief of marriage offering a complementary partnership. '[T]he sexes were meant to be complementary, not competitive', writes Cynthia Eagle Russett, 'Each sex had a distinctive function for which it was best suited, neither could prosper alone, and social harmony as well as social

[79] *Ibid*., p. 12.
[80] *Ibid*., p. 13.
[81] 'Jack and John', 19 April 1879, p. 217.
[82] *Ibid*.

progress were best served when the boundaries that separated their respective domains were observed'.[83] The perceived harmonious relationship between men and women harked back to ideologies regarding gender expressed in the writings of John Ruskin. In *Sesame and Lilies* (1865), Ruskin asserted:

> We are foolish, and without excuse foolish, in speaking of the 'superiority' of one sex to the other, as if they could be compared in similar things. Each has what the other has not: each completes the other, and is completed by the other: they are in nothing alike, and the happiness and perfection of both depends on each asking and receiving from the other what the other only can give.[84]

This complementary model perpetuated the idea that gender roles were defined by and adhered to natural laws of order. Ruskin's philosophy concerning gender, published many years prior to the inception of the *Boy's Own Paper*, resonated throughout the publication. Its application in Eiloart's work suggests an egalitarian social effort to provide equally for all members of society. This is clearly evident in the appropriation of parental responsibility through the adoption of orphaned children.

John's assumed responsibility for Blossy, the name given to the orphaned baby, and he navigates these new responsibilities with help from Enoch who 'grew almost as fond of her as he was of John'.[85] Enoch's paternal affection for Blossy is complemented by Jenny Flint's maternalism. Jenny 'was an elderly woman, clean, sharp-featured, and plain spoken. There was always a war between her and Enoch Green; she would not forgive him his presumption, as she considered it, in doing without feminine help in his household'.[86] Yet, despite their quarrelling, together they share the responsibility of caring for Blossy while John is in school. Russett's theory of complementary gender roles is reiterated in the story's concluding marriage between Jenny and Enoch, who 'with [. . .] the comfort o' havin' a wife to

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[83] Cynthia Eagle Russett, *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood* (London: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 146.
[84] John Ruskin, *The Sesame and Lilies and The Political Economy of Art* (London: Collins' Clear Type Press, n.d.), pp. 116-117.
[85] 'Jack and John', 8 February 1879, pp. 57-58 (p. 58).
[86] 'Jack and John', 1 February 1879, pp. 39-40 (p. 40).

look after him, he isn't like the same man'.[87] This change in Enoch's character and the restoration of his physical strength extols the virtues of marriage and reinforces the view that marriage, based on a complementary model, is an optimal arrangement for both men and women.

The motif of marriage as restoring domestic harmony is also used in conjunction with Jack and John. Blossy, who remains a child within the text, is completely defined by her relationship with Jack and John. One character postulates: 'Perhaps when he [John] has seen his adopted daughter become the wife of his friend [Jack], he may think of a wife for himself'.[88] John fulfils the paternal obligations with the intention of Jack inheriting the responsibility of her welfare through marriage. As seen in 'Twice Bought', marriage or betrothal not only secures the female character's reputation; it also forges stronger bonds between the male characters. This exchange also resonates with Chapter 3's discussion of the relationship between Fred and Jack's sister, Mary, in 'My Friend Smith'. The romantic conclusion strengthens the brotherly bonds of adolescent friendship, cementing their adult affection in the form of a vicarious intimacy.

While the outcome of 'Jack and John' restores domestic harmony through the appropriation of certain traditional gender roles, the story explores the possibilities of creating alternative family structures. With John as the adoptive father figure, Enoch and Jenny fulfilling the role of grandparents, and the betrothal of Blossy and Jack, this heterogeneous group of people slowly develop into an example of a harmonious transnormative family. 'Jack and John' emphasises the importance of personal and social responsibility of caring for the weak and vulnerable. The message remains that while gender is irrelevant when it comes to fulfilling these responsibilities, developing complementary relationships optimises the chances of a successful outcome. Eiloart presented the transnormative family as a viable alternative but she also based it on what Thiel terms 'the "natural," the idealized family model'.[89]

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[87] 'Jack and John', 27 September 1879, pp. 584-586 (p. 585).
[88] *Ibid*., p. 586.
[89] Thiel, p. 10.

Woman as the Exotic Other

As with masculine hero-figures, female characters reflected the values upheld by the *Boy's Own Paper*. The texts examined in this chapter up until this point have confirmed these anticipated ideals. However, occasionally, the *Boy's Own Paper* did include examples of female characters who did not embody the qualities considered desirable in a woman. Billy's mother in 'My Friend Smith', as mentioned in Chapter 3, is as an example of the poverty and abuse associated with drinking. Although depictions such as this were infrequent, these figures were employed either to demonstrate the consequences of immorality or to offer the opportunity for redemption. However, the majority of female characters featured in the *Boy's Own Paper* symbolised the principles associated with Christian values and a British national identity.

Arthur Conan Doyle's short story 'Uncle Jeremy's Household' (1887) offers a rare departure from the traditional representations of women found in the *Boy's Own Paper*.[90] The gothic style of Doyle's narrative and the quality of his writing is far superior to the average *Boy's Own Paper* story and suggests that it had originally been written for an adult readership rather than for the paper's intended juvenile readers. And while the title suggests a rather mundane account of everyday household events, Doyle produces anything but an idyllic domestic scene. Instead, 'Uncle Jeremy's Household' features a 'femme fatale' named Miss Warrender, who is sensual, exotic, and dangerous: the antithesis of female characters like Betty Bevan and Sister Mary. Doyle's portrayal of Miss Warrender produces a complex exploration of the presence of the colonised Other within the setting of a quintessentially upper-class British home. As Yumna Siddiqi summarises:

> Doyle weaves into the fabric of this story of intrigue a number of themes and concerns [. . .] ethnography, anxieties about miscegenation and hybrid

[90] The story was later republished with *The Doings of Raffles Haw* (1892) under the title *The Lady of Death*.

> identity, education, colonial desire, the return of colonial subjects from Empire to the metropole, and insurgency against British rule.[91]

By addressing these themes through the employment of the woman as the exotic Other, Doyle demonstrates how even the most sacred aspects of British society and culture are at risk.

The story begins with a letter from John Thurston to the narrator, Hugh Lawrence, with an invitation to join him at his Uncle Jeremy's country house, Dunkelthwaite, in the Yorkshire Dells. Lawrence, a medical student in London, initially hesitates about going but is intrigued when Thurston sends a further, more insistent invitation.

> By the way, I think I mentioned the brunettish governess to you. I might throw her out as a bait to you if you retain your taste for ethnological studies. She is the child of an Indian chieftain, whose wife was an Englishwoman. He was killed in the mutiny, fighting against us, and, his estates being seized by Government, his daughter, then fifteen, was left almost destitute. Some charitable German merchant in Calcutta adopted her, it seems, and brought her over to Europe with him together with his own daughter. The latter died, and then Miss Warrender—as we call her, after her mother—answered uncle's advertisement; and here she is.[92]

Upon arrival, Lawrence establishes himself as an objective man of science and claims 'to study her as an entomologist might study a specimen, critically, but without bias'.[93] With his 'medical instinct'[94] and 'instinct as a man of the world and an observer of human nature'[95], Lawrence reassures the reader of his credibility. 'In writing stories such as these in which the hero is rational and scientific,' writes Lesli J. Favor, 'and the villain is emotion-driven (that is, irrational) and non-scientific [. . .] these scientifically rational men ultimately control and/or contain

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[91] Yumna Siddiqi, *Anxieties of Empire and the Fiction of Intrigue* (Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2008), p. 12.
[92] Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Uncle Jeremy's Household', 8 January 1887, pp. 233-234 (p. 234).
[93] 'Uncle Jeremy's Household', 22 January 1887, pp. 271-272 (p. 271).
[94] *Ibid*.
[95] 'Uncle Jeremy's Household', 29 January 1887, pp. 279-280 (p. 279).

the irrational women.'[96] Lawrence's continual reassurance of his objective scientific analysis of Miss Warrender perpetuates this approach to gender.

The portrayal of Miss Warrender extends beyond irrationality and under the observation of Lawrence her Otherness is defined by her savage or animal-like behaviour.

> Underneath her veneer of culture, however, there was a great dash of the savage in her nature. In the course of her conversation she would every now and again drop some remark which would almost startle me by its primitive reasoning, and by its disregard for the conventionalities of civilisation.[97]

She is further described as exhibiting 'the old predatory instinct of the savage'.[98] While the savage qualities suggest an impulsive violent tendency, her snake-like behaviour implies her ability to calculate devious plans. Lawrence describes her: 'She looked so venomous as she spoke that I involuntarily shrank away from her. Could this pythoness be the demure young lady who sat so primly and quietly at the table of Uncle Jeremy?'.[99] Catherine Wynne comments: 'For Doyle, the snake motif is central to the representation of otherness, cultural and religious conflict, murderous intent and libidinous excess'.[100] Siddiqi adds: 'The figure of the serpent [. . .] foregrounds the question of how the colonizer may know and rule the colonial subject and at the same time contend with her dangerous attraction'.[101] Lawrence maintains his ethnological/entomological study of her, thus creating an objective barrier between them and keeping him from becoming her accomplice.

With an English mother and an Indian father, Miss Warrender symbolises the genetic hybrid of an interracial marriage. Furthermore, she is the result of the foreign Other's conquest over an Englishwoman who is willing to marry not only a

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[96] Lesli J. Favor, 'The Foreign and the Female in Arthur Conan Doyle: Beneath the Candy Coating', *English Literature in Transition*, 43 (2000), 398-409 (p. 404). [Favor makes several observations regarding Doyle's description of the foreign and female Other as being animal-like.]
[97] 'Uncle Jeremy's Household', 22 January 1887, p. 271.
[98] *Ibid*.
[99] 'Uncle Jeremy's Household', 29 January 1887, p. 279.
[100] Catherine Wynne, *The Colonial Conan Doyle: British Imperialism, Irish Nationalism and the Gothic* (London: Greenwood press, 2002), pp. 126-127.
[101] Siddiqi, p. 48.

'foreigner' but also a colonised subject. This exertion of sexual power is a threat to British masculinity and to British civilisation. Stephen Arata writes: 'Miscegenation leads not to the mixing of races but to the biological and political annihilation of the weaker race by the stronger.'[102] As the narrative progresses, Miss Warrender's struggle to balance her dual identity becomes more apparent as it becomes evident that her father's influence dominates her actions. H. L. Malchow writes of the association between vampire and 'half-breed' in gothic literature:

> Both [. . .] are creatures who transgress boundaries and are caught between two worlds. Both are hidden threats – disguised presences bringing pollution of the blood. Both may be able to 'pass' among the unsuspecting, although both bear hidden signs of their difference, which the wary may read.[103]

The real threat that Miss Warrender poses is her ability to 'pass' as an Englishwoman while secretly practicing superstitious and violent rituals. For while she appears to take after her English mother in superficial terms, she clings to the traditions taught to her by her Thuggee father.

Employed as a governess to Uncle Jeremy's nieces and nephew, Miss Warrender occupies a position of trust. Like nursing, being a governess was a profession considered respectable for young unmarried and educated Englishwomen. However, Miss Warrender's secret past hides the murder of two girls, including one of her charges at Dunkelthwaite, as sacrificial offerings to the Hindu goddess Bhowanee (or Bhowani). This goddess is also known as Kali, the goddess of death, and often referred to as the 'Dark Mother'. Miss Warrender's act of infanticide mirrors this 'Dark Motherhood' in the rejection of Christianity, English morality, and maternal instinct. A friend of Lawrence informs him, 'it is most unusual for a woman to be initiated in the mysteries of Thuggee, and it arose in this case probably from her having [. . .] tasted the sacred goor, which was the sacrifice offered by the gang after each murder'. [104] In addition to sacrificial

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[102] Stephen Arata, *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 116.
[103] Malchow, p. 168.
[104] 'Uncle Jeremy's Household', 19 February 1887, pp. 329-331 (p. 331).

killings, this suggests that Miss Warrender also takes part in ritualistic cannibalism: both acts signifying the complete absence of civilisation in the woman.

J. R. Grey makes the important point that the 'thuggee stands out as a rare type of supposed "uniquely Indian" homicide which was almost exclusively perpetuated both by and against men'.[105] Therefore, Miss Warrender's involvement with this masculine fraternity and her participation in sacrificial murders further discredits her English heritage. Lawrence, who through the course of his stay in Yorkshire, discovers her dark secret, decides that she should be called 'Princess Achmet Genghis [. . .] for assuredly she was the descendant of the fierce fanatical warrior rather than of her gentle mother'.[106] Here Lawrence begins to understand that the barbaric and mystical powers associated with the foreign Other are strong enough to challenge British civilisation and its Christian beliefs. R. Caton Woodville's accompanying illustrations include a single image of Miss Warrender. It depicts her in English dress with her thuggee subject prostrate before her. She holds a posture of authority, with her arm stretched outward directing him. Apart from her dark hair, there is no inference of her exotic heritage described by the narrator and the scene appears otherwise unremarkable. In this scene, her position of power does not appear to originate from her Indian heritage. Rather the illustration implies that an Englishwoman would have dominion over a colonised subject. This makes the gradual revelation of her Thuggee identity even more unsettling as her English appearance conceals her dangerous Otherness.

The woman as exotic Other did not feature prominently in the *Boy's Own Paper*, but there were several colour-plate illustrations that presented women as vibrant, mysterious, and sensual. M. E. Durham's painting 'The Golden Fleece', reproduced in the *Boy's Own Paper* in the 6 June 1903 issue, is an image based on the Greek myth of Medea. **[Figure 8]** In the painting, the woman walks with her

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[105] J. R. Grey, 'Creating the "Problem Hindu": *Sati*, Thuggee and Female Infanticide in India, 1800-60', in *Sex, Gender, and the Sacred: Reconfiguring Religion in Gender History*, ed. by Joanna de Groot and Sue Morgan (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014J, pp. 104-116 (p. 105).

[106] 'Uncle Jeremy's Household', 12 February 1887, pp. 318-319 (p. 318).

arms outstretched as if in a trance, the snake-shaped armband she wears mirrors the snake that is wrapped around the tree and guards the Golden Fleece hanging from its branches. The image also brings to mind the story of Eve and the serpent in the Garden of Eden, linking her sensuality with original sin.[107] Her strong jaw-line is masculine and her headpiece resembles the ears of an animal. The neo-classical draping attire and long flowing hair bears a striking resemblance to the female subjects made famous by the Pre-Raphaelite movement.[108] In the myth Medea was depicted as a passionate sorceress, jealously possessive of Jason.

Figure 8: M. E. Durham, 'The Golden Fleece', *BOP*, 6 June 1903, n.p.

[107] Full page colour illustration inserted next to 6 June 1903.
[108] Nineteenth-century artists, including John William Waterhouse and Frederick Sandys (1868) and Evelyn De Morgan (1889), also depicted Medea.

When he betrayed her, she sought revenge by killing their two children and his new bride. Iles Johnston writes: 'when we look closely at the variant versions of this story, we realize that infanticidal Medea resembles a type of female demon, feared in traditional cultures throughout the ancient and modern world, who specializes in killing children'.[109] Her beauty and power are dangerous to men and the consequences of her lust and overt sexuality even lead to death and the abandonment of her maternal responsibilities. The portrayal of women such as Miss Warrender and Medea is rare; however, these characters still contribute to maintaining the feminine ideals of the *Boy's Own Paper* by associating sexuality with the neglect of maternal responsibilities and with ideals other than English gendered morality.

Sport, Travel, and the New Woman

The majority of this chapter has focused on the fictional representations of women and how many authors employed traditional gender stereotypes as a means of restoring social order. However, the *Boy's Own Paper* did respond to changing female identities and certain aspects of the New Woman were openly accepted by the publication. This was most notable in the paper's portrayal of women and girls engaging in sporting activities. In the mid-nineteenth century, as Terry Gifford, observes, 'Sport that bordered on the masculine was seen as potentially harmful to a woman's female attributes.'[110] However, these attitudes were shifting and as early as 1880 the *Boy's Own Paper* advised its readers: 'There is no harm in girls playing cricket or the other games, that we can see'.[111] Girls and women were increasingly enjoying outdoor pursuits and cycling in particular awarded a certain

[109] Sarah Iles Johnston, 'Introduction', *Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy, and Art*, ed. by James J. Clauss and Sarah Iles Johnston (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 3-20 (p. 5).
[110] Terry Gifford, 'Early Women Mountaineers Achieve Both Summits and Publication in Britain and America', in *Women in Transit through Literary and Liminal Spaces*, ed. by Teresa Gómez Reus and Terry Gifford (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 91-106 (p. 95).
[111] Anon, 'Correspondence', *BOP*, 18 December 1880, p. 192.

freedom. 'The appearance of the cycling girl in the *Girl's Own Paper*', writes Kristine Moruzi, 'aligns her with health, mobility, and the New Woman'.[112] The image of the cycling girl regularly featured in the *Boy's Own Paper* and can be seen in many of the paper's advertisements, masthead illustrations, and full-page colour plates.

The modern appeal of the bicycle and its promoted health benefits also made it an appealing activity. One advertisement for Rudge-Whitworth Cycles claimed they were 'universally acknowledged as unrivalled whether ridden for SPEED, HEALTH, or PLEASURE' .[113] The accompanying image depicts a young woman holding a bicycle wheel. Another advertisement for Rudge-Whitworth pictures a man and woman riding a tandem bike. The tag line reads: 'CYCLING is the most Healthy and Delightful Pastime in the World. It can be ENJOYED BY EVERYONE irrespective of Age, Sex, and Social Position.[114] Kathleen McCrone suggests 'it was bicycling [. . .] that provided women with their most significant experience of physical exercise and did more than any other activity to break down conservative restrictions'.[115] Sally Mitchell observes: 'Gordon Stables, the medical columnist of *Girls Own Paper*, provided a physician's stamp of approval: "Cycling is, in my opinion, the best of all forms of exercise".'[116] Stables had several things to say on the topic of cycling and the New Woman, including what to wear:

> You cannot deny it, girls, but the new woman or new girl who, instead of dressing like a lady, fits herself out like a mountebank, is sure to attract attention, but can never gain the respect of anyone worth thinking about.[117]

Writing on fitness in the *Girl's Own Paper*, Moruzi observes: 'In articles on gymnastics and callisthenics, hockey, golf, cricket, and cycling, girls are increasingly active outside the home. Yet, even as the feminine ideal expands to include health, the sporting articles display an anxiety about the defeminizing

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[112] Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 111.
[113] *BOP*, March 1895, Cover wrapper of the Monthly edition
[114] *BOP*, April 1895, Cover wrapper of the Monthly edition
[115] Kathleen McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870-1914* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1988), p. 177.
[116] Mitchell, *The New Girl*', p. 12.
[117] Dr Gordon Stables, 'Cycling: As a Pastime and for Health', *GOP*, 15 August 1896, pp. 722-733 (p. 733).

potential of these activities.'[118] While the *Girl's Own Paper* certainly endorsed cycling and sport in general for health purposes, it did run articles that advised readers on how to remain feminine while pursuing these activities.

However, cycling symbolised more than just healthy living. It became a symbol of mobility and independence for middle-class young women. J. P. Fitzgerald's illustration 'August Delights', which featured on the front page of the *Boy's Own Paper* in 1903, captures the romance of the Edwardian imagination. **[Figure 9]** The scene depicts a young woman engaged in conversation with two young men of the same age. The trio stands alongside a country lane where they have paused their cycling journey. Despite her athletic pursuits, the young woman maintains her feminine appearance. According to Mitchell: 'The archetypal New Woman image is a healthy young person in dark skirt and white shirt standing beside the bicycle that gave her freedom to travel independently in town or

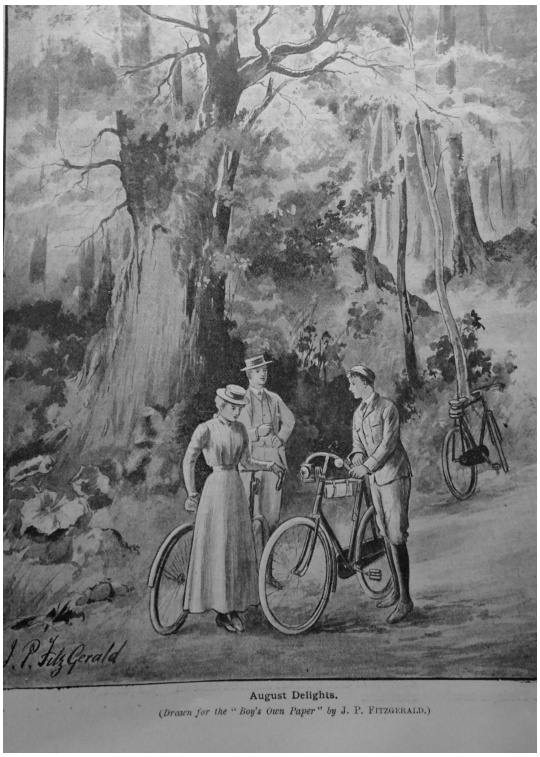

Figure 9: J. P. Fitzgerald, 'August Delights', *BOP*, 22 August 1903, p. 737.

[118] Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 102.

country.'[119] Although their relationship to each other is unclear, what is evident is the absence of a chaperon. Patricia Marks writes: 'Perhaps one of the bicycle's most far-reaching effects was freedom from chaperons, one of the earliest requests of the "revolting daughters" who found the constant presence of a bored lady's maid both onerous and demeaning.'[120] The illustration exudes health, extols the virtues of exercise, and demonstrates an appreciation for both nature and the technological advances. It should also be noted that this image appeared in the same annual volume as the colour plate of 'The Golden Fleece'. The images express the conflicting representations of womanhood represented in the *Boy's Own Paper*.

Physical mobility was central to changing attitudes towards women and travel narratives were another way in which women were depicted outside conventional domestic scenarios. Isabel Suart Robson, known for her books *Two Lady Missionaries in Tibet* (1909) and *Mrs Pederson's Niece* (1901) contributed no less than nineteen articles to the *Boy's Own Paper*, mainly short travel pieces with their locations ranging from the North Pole to Mexico.[121] Mrs Carey-Hobson also had several articles on farming in South Africa that were published in the *Boy's Own Paper* throughout the 1880s and 1890s.[122] Both women were published under their own names, indicating that women were increasingly contributing to an imperial discourse.

The most well-known female travel writer who contributed to the *Boy's Own Paper* was the mountaineer Elizabeth Le Blond. In addition to breaking numerous records as a pioneering mountaineer, Le Blond was an active photographer and filmmaker.[123] She was also a prolific writer and published

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[119] Mitchell, *The New Girl*, p. 110.
[120] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990), p. 199.
[121] Robson also contributed to the *GOP*, *Kind Words for Boys and Girls* (1866-1937), and *The Children's Friend* (1824-1929).
[122] Carey-Hobson also contributed to the *GOP*.
[123] *Elizabeth Main (1861-1934) Alpinist, Photographer, Writer: An English Lady Discovers the Engadine Alps*, ed. by Markus Britschgi and Doris Fässler (Lucerne: Diopter, 2003) offers a detailed biography of Elizabeth Le Blond (Elizabeth Main) and includes a large selection of her photographic collection and gives insight into her involvement in

numerous books on mountaineering including *True Tales of Mountain Adventure For Non-Climbers Young and Old* (1903),[124] despite mountaineering being a contested activity for women. 'Alpinism', writes David Robbins, 'was increasingly centred on a discourse of rewards for hard and resolute effort, manliness, physical and moral fitness, competition and mastery over nature'.[125] Women Alpinists, including Le Blond, defined their ventures in terms of manliness. In *True Tales*, Le Blond wrote:

> There is no manlier sport in the world than mountaineering. It is true that all the sports Englishmen take part in are manly, but mountaineering is different from others, because it is a sport purely for the sake of sport.[126]

The appropriation of the term manly illustrates how the nineteenth-century English vocabulary, and mindset, lacked the language to countenance a women's ability to perform physical activities. Precious McKenzie observes: 'Although Le Blond claims she was not a suffragette, her travel writing encouraged British women to attempt bold and dangerous sports. Her actions and her writings broke from late Victorian conventions and redrew expectations for women in the young twentieth century.'[127]

In 1902, Le Blond contributed 'Mountain-Climbing for Boys' and 'The "B.O.P." Photographer: Tele-Photography in Arctic Norway' to the *Boy's Own Paper*. Both articles were accompanied by her photographic illustrations. The following year, the *Boy's Own Paper* included a short editorial column advertising *True Tales*.

> A writer who frequently contributes to our pages, and whose work must have peculiar attraction for many of our readers – we refer to Mrs. Aubrey le Blond [*sic*] – has just brought out through Mr. T. Fisher Unwin a volume entitled 'True Tales of Mountain Adventure for Non-climbers Young and Old.' The book deals mainly with climbs and adventures on the Swiss

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nineteenth and early twentieth-century mountaineering. Her photographs include numerous images of women climbing, ice-skating, and sledding.

[124] She also had works published under the Mrs Fred Burnaby and Mrs Main, after her first two husbands.

[125] David Robbins, 'Sport Hegemony and the Middle Class: the Victorian Mountaineers', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 4 (1987), 579-601 (p. 591).

[126] Elizabeth Aubrey Le Blond, *True Tales of Mountain Adventure For Non-Climbers Young and Old* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), p. ix.

[127] Precious McKenzie, *The Right Sort of Woman: Victorian Travel Writers and the Fitness of an Empire* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), p. 119.

> mountains and most of the stories told are really absorbingly interesting. The book is splendidly illustrated with photographs, is written in a thoroughly vivacious style, and we can very heartily commend it to 'B.O.P.' readers – whether travelled or stay-at-home. A copy might well find a prominent place in every up-to-date school library.[128]

The promotion of any book that was not a publication of the *Boy's Own Paper* was unusual and making an exception for one written by a female author testifies to her reputation as an expert climber and photographer. As Clare Roche observes: 'Men's climbing and their presence in the mountains was a very public affair' in contrast with that of women writers who 'favoured the format of private journals, letters, and anonymous publications'.[129] Le Blond's success in the masculine-dominated world of mountaineering and publishing helped bring women's accomplishments into the mainstream media.

It is also important to address the fact that while female mountaineers, including Le Blond, were breaking numerous climbing records they were still under the pressure to remain feminine. As McKenzie notes:

> Although women mountaineers, as well as men mountaineers, suffered the physical effects of the sport such as sunburns, blistered lips and bloodshot eyes, Le Blond and her circle were careful not emphasize these points so that the public would not see them as unfit or unladylike.[130]

Furthermore, most of these women climbed in their dresses or skirts. Le Blond is said to have 'abandoned her skirt and climbed in trousers (although she would not venture into a town without her skirt)'.[131] So while Le Blond was helping to bridge the gap between the worlds of the public/masculine and the private/feminine, she also held fast to certain social expectations regarding gender.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that the inclusion of women in the *Boy's Own Paper* was far more significant than what Bristow's parenthetical commentary has suggested.

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[128] Anon, 'Our Note Book: True Tales of Mountain Adventure', *BOP*, 11 April 1903, p. 447.
[129] Clare Roche, 'Women Climbers 1850-1900: A Challenge to Male Hegemony?', *Sport in History*, 33 (2013), 236-259 (p. 252).
[130] McKenzie, p. 112.
[131] McKenzie, p. 119.

While the publication clearly endorsed an androcentric view, the consistent inclusion of female authors, readers, and fictional characters confirmed that strict gender divisions were impractical and impossible to impose. More importantly, through the study of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s treatment of women we can gain a clearer understanding of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s middle-class attitude towards gender and British national identity.

For the most part, the paper perpetuated traditional attitudes towards gender. As seen in the works of Ballantyne and Hope, the *Boy's Own Paper* incorporated a version of the 'angel in the house', a guardian of Christian values and domestic harmony. There are subtle attempts to engage with the increasing visibility of women in traditionally homosocial environments, as seen in the depictions of Betty Bevan and Sister Mary. While these texts legitimise the role of women as missionaries and nurses, Betty and Sister Mary are ultimately defined by their relationships with their male relatives. In both instances, the narrative concludes with the women returning to their family homes. Eiloart's 'Jack and John' considers the values of transnormative families and offers several instances of gender role reversals. The story's message was clearly one of social responsibility but its conclusion resorts to the restoration of domestic harmony through the marriage of Enoch and Jenny, thus confirming the value of conventional gender roles.

Rarely were leading female characters portrayed outside of accepted social norms. Doyle's portrayal of Miss Warrender in 'Uncle Jeremy's Household' as the exotic Other is a rare departure from the *Boy's Own Paper*'s conventional portrayal of woman as the cornerstone of British morality. Instead of operating within the parameters of a complementary male/female dichotomy, Miss Warrender represents the hidden threat of the colonial Other to the domestic stability and racial identity of Britain. Whereas we have seen the threat to homosocial environments in the public school stories of Hope and Millington, Doyle's attack on the domestic/feminine sphere indicates the growing concern of the foreign Other's influence on the very nature of British identity.

The paper's inclusion of women authors, such as Eiloart and Le Blond, is in keeping with other RTS publications. The Society published numerous books and tracts written by women, which makes their contribution to the *Boy's Own Paper* not surprising. Those employed by the paper offered a style of literature that did not differ considerably from their male counterparts, even though their remit was more restricted. During Hutchison's editorship, the only adventure-style narrative published by a woman was that of S. S. (Sarah Stuart) Robbins's five-part series entitled 'Ben Norton: A Frontier Story' (1880). Unlike the homosocial environment portrayal of frontier life in 'Twice Bought', 'Ben Norton' focuses on the dangers that the Norton family and their frontier community faced at the hands of the Native Americans. While the story does centre on a boy-hero, it delivers another thinly veiled piece of didactic literature that is highly sentimental in style, combining Christian beliefs with heroism, sacrifice, and death.

Towards the end of the nineteenth-century, women authors were mainly contributing non-fiction articles to the *Boy's Own Paper*. Authors including Le Blond, Isabel Suart Robson, and Mrs Carey-Hobson wrote on their personal experiences travelling and living abroad, which was in keeping with the paper's emphasis on promoting fact-based literature. Non-fiction accounts of women traveling and engaging in sporting activities are the areas in which we see the *Boy's Own Paper* take a more progressive stance on appropriate feminine behaviour. Cycling, in particular, offered girls and women the opportunity of mobility and independence and the *Boy's Own Paper* clearly supported that new freedom through its illustrations and advertisements. It even encouraged girls to play sports, as we have seen in some of its responses to readers, which seemed in keeping with the publication's overall emphasis on healthy living. Many of these activities required attributes that were traditionally associated with manliness, including pluck and physical strength. However, as the paper moved into the twentieth century, we see these qualities become symbols of British character and less about gender.

This chapter has briefly introduced how the participation and representation of women influenced the *Boy's Own Paper*'s portrayal of

masculinity. While female authors, readers, and fictional characters may not have taken centre stage in the *Boy's Own Paper*, they were still an essential part of the publication's overall image of Britishness. The complex themes addressed in this chapter exhibit the need for further investigation of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s attitude towards the role of women in British society during the long nineteenth century.

Conclusion: The Future of *Boy's Own Paper* Research

In a January 1914 article on Hutchison published in the *Boy's Own Paper* Harold Begbie wrote:

> Is it not possible, then, that the goodness of the present owes at least something to the man who kept this fine paper going so splendidly from week to week? I am not satisfied that an acknowledgment of gratitude for cheerful and interesting entertainment cancels the debt. I am on the side of those who say that Hutchison was one of the moral fashioners of a better order.[1]

This homage to the late editor reiterated the prevailing view that Hutchison not only successfully directed the *Boy's Own Paper* through the competitive marketplace of periodical publishing but also steered young minds through an increasingly secular society. Recalling the *Boy's Own Paper*'s twofold objective, to entertain and to instruct, it would seem that Hutchison briefly achieved this balance.

This thesis has considered the impact of Hutchison's editorial contribution to the paper's style and content, demonstrating how the development of an editorial persona attempted to bridge the gap between boyhood and manhood. Analysing the *Boy's Own Paper*'s editorial and correspondence columns, it is clear that while the publication reached its target audience of the British boy it also appears to have been successful with female readers and readers living in the colonies. These texts also reveal that the publication was well received by adults, suggesting that the publication appealed to a wider middle-class family readership. Understanding these differences between the implied reader and the suggested reader when discussing the *Boy's Own Paper*'s representations of masculinity helps us understand that the publication's opinions concerning gender and national identity were influencing a generation of middle-class readers.

Hutchison's editorial policies and brand of boys' literature eventually became old-fashioned, serving as an emblem of the past rather than a record of the

[1] Harold Begbie, 'The Squire of Boyhood: George Andrew Hutchison, His Wallet and His House', *BOP*, January 1914, pp. 212-213, 214 (p. 213). [In 1914, the *BOP* was only published monthly and annually, thus the change in referencing.]

changing face of boyhood. At the beginning of the twentieth century young readers became interested in new magazines such as *Chums* (1892-1934), *The Captain* (1899-1924), *The Gem* (1907-1939), and *The Magnet* (1908-40). These publications overlapped with the *Boy's Own Paper* as they shared many of the same authors and illustrators, including G. A. Henty, Gordon Stables, Ascott R. Hope, David Ker, and Alfred Pearse. Their layouts were similarly comprised of serialised fiction, non-fiction articles, sporting articles, illustrations, and editorial columns. Like the *Boy's Own Paper* they encouraged hobbies such as photography and stamp collecting and they also addressed many of the same themes surrounding issues of masculinity and national identity. Where these publications did significantly differ from the *Boy's Own Paper* was in their overall tone as their pages were full of humorous anecdotes, jokes, puns, and puzzles.[2] Much of the writing was light-hearted and fostered a sense of chumminess between the magazine and its readers. While the *Boy's Own Paper* attempted to do this with its portrayal of Hutchison as an 'old boy', there still remained the underlying sense of adult authority.

These other magazines also featured lower and working-class boys more frequently in their non-fiction articles and illustrations. Instead of holding them up as the focus of middle-class charity, as did the *Boy's Own Paper*, they took a less moralising tone and treated them as regular boys instead of object lessons. At the same time, publications like *The Captain* ran columns such as 'Reviews of School Magazines', whereby the public schoolboy was addressed in his own terms rather than simply through ideological representations. These publications undoubtedly included aspects of accepted class hierarchies and stereotypes, but they generally appear to have focused on providing entertainment for the modern boy rather than offering lessons in social responsibility.

The marketplace for boys' magazines was healthy during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and many of these publications had a

[2] In 1913, after A. L. Haydon replaced Hutchison as the editor of the *Boy's Own Paper*, the paper began running a column entitled 'In Lighter Mood', which included short humorous anecdotes, which clearly indicates that the paper under new editorship looked towards these other magazines for inspiration.

long print run. However, the *Boy's Own Paper* remained in print long after its early competitors ceased publishing. While the paper might have argued that it remained in print because it understood boys' reading habits, I would argue that the paper's longevity was the result of its consistent ideological objectives that appealed to parents and RTS members. Therefore, its success was not so much that it reflected the interests of the modern adolescent reader but rather that it fostered a sense of nostalgia for a bygone era that middle-class Christians were trying to preserve.

During Hutchison's editorship, the paper did undergo subtle changes in terms of content and layout. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the appearance of a new and varying masthead combined with a new wave of young contributors reflected the paper's response to publishing demands in an attempt to appeal to the reading habits of the Edwardian boy. These slight alterations did result in tensions as what the Society members, older readers, and parents wanted from the *Boy's Own Paper* were not always congruous with Hutchison's editorial policies. However, the publication maintained an overall emphasis on Christian manliness, self-help, and philanthropy that were in keeping with the Society's ambition to produce literature that directed the juvenile male reader away from the sensationalist 'penny dreadfuls'.

The most significant aspect of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s transition into the twentieth century was the increasing emphasis on the *puer aeternus* as the masculine prototype, which offered a contemporary reading of masculinity based on the romanticised qualities of the public school ethos. As seen in the works of Reed, Hope, and Millington, the popularisation of the school story glorified chivalric sportsmanship. This new incarnation of the British masculine ideal increasingly became a central figure in much of the publication's literature. Adventure stories situated the 'man-child' demonstrating his masculine authority over his foreign adversaries who were portrayed as weak and inferior in comparison. These texts also delivered a macho image of colonial masculinity and inculcated a militaristic vocabulary. As Dunae notes, '[the] juvenile fiction which one generation of critics had denounced as "blood and thunder" came, in a slightly

altered form, to be regarded by the next generation as wholesome and patriotic'.[3] As the periodical moved into the twentieth century, the *Boy's Own Paper* increasingly employed images of colonial intervention as a means of displaying patriotic support.

While the *Boy's Own Paper* readily supported British imperial efforts, it was still cautious about openly advocating military action. Instead, it supported the efforts of W. A. Smith's The Boys' Brigade and Robert Baden-Powell's Scouting movement, organisations that claimed to 'purposely avoid military organisation and military training in any form' but which were clearly modelled on a military tradition.[4] The *Boy's Own Paper* did not form any official alliances with either organisation, but many of their core ideological objectives in regards to the dissemination of Christian manliness overlapped. The combination of authoritative instruction provided by experts, a strong Christian message, the emphasis on physical strength, the value of education, and the creation of a global community through membership and subscription linked the *Boy's Own Paper* with the operations of the Boys' Brigade and Boy Scouts.

The formation of the Boys' Brigade (founded 1883) and the Boy Scouts (founded 1908) was clearly a reworking of the older model of the muscular Christianity endorsed by Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes in the mid-nineteenth century. Physical fitness was central to both movements and Smith claimed that '[t]he key to a boy's life in the present generation lies in athletics'.[5] The *Boy's Own Paper* published interviews with Smith and Baden-Powell along with numerous articles detailing Boys' Brigade and Boy Scouts proceedings and activities. By aligning its image with that of such popular organisations, it offered an image of the uniting qualities of the colonial effort and encouraged military masculinity. It also further perpetuated the image of the *puer aeternus*, as the men

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[3] Patrick Dunae, 'Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys' Literature and Crime', *Victorian Studies*, 22 (1979), 133-150 (p. 150).
[4] General Baden-Powell quoted in Anon, 'Sir R. Baden Powel and His Scouts', *BOP*, 13 May 1911, p. 528.
[5] T. C. Collings, 'A Chat with Major W.A. Smith, "The Founder of the Boys' Brigade"', *BOP*, 10 December 1898, pp. 174-175 (p. 174).

who symbolised this new muscular Christian included figures like General Gordon and Baden-Powell.

Jeffery Richards observes that '[m]any of the great men of Empire were essentially boy-men', an image that coincided with the *Boy's Own Paper*'s idealised view of masculinity.[6] As we have seen in the preceding chapters, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s pages were filled with examples of the 'man-child'. Hutchison's editorial persona as the 'old boy' told the reader that despite being a man he still retained his youthful spirit (Chapter 1). W. G. Grace also epitomised 'the boy who never grew up' and Hutchison described Reed as 'to the last a real boy amongst boys' (Chapter 2). Increasingly, the credibility of a boys' author was based on his ability to retain elements of his own boyishness. Charles Ferrall and Anna Jackson observe:

> The revival of 'romance' during the 1890s, by writers such as Robert Louis Stevenson, Rider Haggard, and Andrew Lang, was explicitly connected to boyish values, Stevenson declared that 'fiction is to grown men what play is to a child' [. . .] and Arthur Conan Doyle dedicated his *The Lost World* 'to the boy who is half a man, / Or the man who's half a boy'.[7]

During the long nineteenth-century, the 'man-child' became a central figure in the masculine literature of adventure fiction.

Attitudes towards masculinity evolved with the rebranded, and more successful, version of muscular Christianity. As Robert J. C. Young observes:

> In the nineteenth century, the very notion of a fixed English identity was doubtless a product of, and reaction to, the rapid change and transformation of both metropolitan and colonial societies which meant that, as with nationalism, such identities needed to be constructed to counter schisms, friction, and dissent.[8]

Adventure fiction and travel writing confirmed the British masculine ideal and contributed to a growing colonial discourse in the *Boy's Own Paper*. The study of works by G. A. Henty, James Cox, and David Ker offer examples of colonial

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[6] Richards, 'Passing the Love of Women', p. 107.
[7] Charles Ferrall and Anna Jackson, *Juvenile and British Society, 1850-1950: The Age of Adolescence* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 6-7.
[8] Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (Routledge: London, 1995), pp. 3-4.

masculinity in operation. In contrast to the British hero-figure, their representations of the foreign Other were built on negative, and deeply offensive, racial stereotypes. This juxtaposition between the British hero and his foreign counterpart indicated a growing concern over the state of European colonies at the end of the nineteenth century, which called for a more physical and military brand of masculinity.

The *Boy's Own Paper*'s masculine ideal has most commonly been addressed in terms of its overt endorsement of the British colonial enterprise. However, the publication's image of masculinity was not confined to this single image. As Chapter 3 demonstrated, the paper expressed a strong message of social responsibility in a domestic setting. The paper's Christian message, while offered 'in solution and not *en bloc*', was most evident through its emphasis on social responsibility through the themes of self-help and philanthropy. The dissemination of middle-class ideals was central to the *Boy's Own Paper*'s publication and the message of self-help was intended to inspire its readers. However, the publication was careful to remind readers that extreme upward mobility was unlikely and should not be the goal of improving one's situation. The writings of Kingston, Reed, and Eiloart also stressed the direct relationship between self-help and philanthropy, offering examples of the complex interdependent relationship between the benefactor and recipient of charity. Here we see middle-class ideologies of a social hierarchy at work, one that truly instilled the motto 'Aim at a silk gown, and you may get a sleeve of it'.

Another crucial aspect of the publication's definition of masculinity and national identity was found in the *Boy's Own Paper*'s attitude towards idealised womanhood. In order to gain a better understanding of the publication's view on gender in general, this thesis has demonstrated the ways in which the publication's representation of women both confirmed and challenged gender stereotypes. Fictional representations of women, which often situated female characters in colonial settings, confirmed more conservative attitudes toward appropriate feminine behaviour. However, we also witness a shift in attitudes as the inclusion of authors like Le Blond represented the increasing visibility of women in

traditionally masculine environments. Furthermore, the paper's encouragement of women to take up athletic pursuits complemented its overall image of a national character. Men and women were both subjected to gender stereotypes, and when read together they produce a more holistic impression of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s attitude towards appropriate gender roles. After all, as Judith Kegan Gardiner puts so succinctly, 'masculinity is not monolithic, not one static thing, but the confluence of multiple processes and relationships with variable results for differing individuals, groups, institutions, and societies'.[9] While the *Boy's Own Paper* attempted to provide an archetypal masculine hero figure, it was also required to respond to the evolving societal expectations regarding what it meant to be British.

As proposed in the introductory chapter, this thesis has provided a long overdue textual analysis of the *Boy's Own Paper*. Taking a case study approach has allowed me to conduct a close reading of the text, focusing on the themes found in the *Boy's Own Paper* that helped shape the publication's overall image of masculinity, morality, and national identity. Each chapter of this thesis has demonstrated how the fiction, non-fiction, and paratextual materials published in the *Boy's Own Paper* contributed to the overall ideological constructions of the paper. By examining these various texts we can identify the ways in which the paper attempted to disseminate Christian values through the mainstream medium of the periodical. This offers further testimony to Hutchison's effort to produce a publication that had both an immediate and a timeless appeal, but also demonstrates that his overall vision was a publishing challenge as well as an ideological struggle.

From its inception, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s objective was clearly defined by its motto, which was to publish material that appealed to the interests of juvenile boys. The paper did not present itself as a literary magazine, but it did emphasise the high quality of the material it published as evidence of its superiority over the 'penny dreadfuls'. In 1880 the paper stated:

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[9] Judith Kegan Gardiner, 'Introduction', in *Masculinities Studies and Feminist Theory: New Directions,* ed. by Judith Kegan Gardiner (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 1-29 (p. 12).

> Instead of filling its columns with 'cuttings' taken almost haphazard from the general press, or with stories written by gentleman whose 'travels' have never extended much beyond Fleet Street, it has gone direct to the best authorities on the subjects which it would treat.[10]

The value placed on quality also extended to illustrations, which were 'not drawn by the customary hacks, but by leading artists of the day'.[11] Drawings were commissioned by *Boy's Own Paper* to either illustrate specific pieces or to provide thoughtful visual interludes between texts. The colour plates, issued quarterly, were often reproductions of paintings by established artists such as Philip Morris (d. 1902) and Owen Dalziel (d. 1942). Employing well-known contributors made the *Boy's Own Paper* commercially viable and helped to establish the paper's credibility as one of the leading boys' periodicals of the nineteenth century.

Popular authors were often prolific, and while their contributions to the *Boy's Own Paper* were original, they were not always the best examples of their writing. Many of the stories published in the *Boy's Own Paper* are now largely forgotten, for although they helped maintain a regular readership for the paper, they received little acclaim once published in book format. These texts often relied on formulaic plot developments based on familiar themes and tropes. There were examples of the *Boy's Own Paper* departing from the traditional historical romance or travel narrative. The inclusion of several short stories by Arthur Conan Doyle exhibited a certain willingness to publish the work of less-known authors. As part of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s celebration of its 25th anniversary, Doyle expressed his appreciation to paper for publishing his early work. He wrote: 'Personally I owe it a debt of gratitude, for it was one of the first papers which grew tired of returning my MMS., and began to print them instead.'[12] The style of his writing, as seen in 'Uncle Jeremy's Household', was superior to that of many of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s regular contributors. Its content, with its portrayal of the exotic female Other, also deviated from the paper's more conservative representations of womanhood.

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[10] Anon, 'The "Boy's Own' Artists at the Royal Academy', *BOP*, 31 July 1880, pp. 697-698 (p. 697).
[11] *Ibid*., p. 698.
[12] A. C. Doyle in 'Completion of Twenty-Five Years of the "B.O.P.", *BOP*, 31 October 1903, pp. 71-72 (p. 71). [Doyle contributed around six short stories to the *BOP*].

Alongside the works of established authors were the short stories, travel pieces, instructional articles, and poetry of countless amateur writers. These texts were often distinctly average and most likely written by the editorial staff, RTS members, ministers, and missionaries who admired the publication. Many of the paper's regular contributors were professional men who wrote for the *Boy's Own Paper* as a hobby.[13] The inclusion of lesser-known writers reflected the financial constraints of publishing a weekly periodical, as it would have been unaffordable to have only established authors on its staff. The *Boy's Own Paper*'s attitude towards the quality of the literature it published was clearly based on providing healthy reading material that reflected the knowledge of its contributor.

The continual overlapping of fiction and non-fiction literature maintained the instructional tone of the paper. This was evident in the proliferation of travel narratives published in the *Boy's Own Paper*. Adventure stories such as Henty's 'The Fetish Hole' and Ker's 'The Finder of the White Elephant' emphasised the credibility the narratives based on the author's first-hand experience of living abroad. Shorter non-fiction articles like Ken Clevedon's 'Something About Savages' and 'More About Savages' were also published on the premise of offering factual information regarding the local inhabitants of colonial territories, with his anthropological approach offering additional credibility. James Cox's 'Nearly Garotted' demonstrates how the lines between fact and fiction were often blurred. While the paper claimed the story to be 'founded on fact', the style of Cox's narrative was clearly influenced by adventure fiction. These texts exemplify the variety of genres that contributed to the *Boy's Own Paper*'s adventure and travel literature. Read together they confirm the *Boy's Own Paper*'s emphasis on factual representations of the wider British Empire. Once again, this tells us that the *Boy's Own Paper* was more concerned with the integrity of its authors rather than on their stylistic abilities.

We can also clearly see fictional and non-fictional texts working together in the *Boy's Own Paper* in the dissemination of social responsibility. The poor urban

[13] For example: Reed was a printer and typefounder, Rev. T. S. Millington a vicar in Leicestershire, and Ascott R. Hope taught in various public and grammar schools.

boy in need of physical and spiritual nurturing was a recurring figure that featured across the various genres of *Boy's Own Paper* literature. The publication openly advocated charitable causes that aided this vulnerable demographic of nineteenth-century British society. Donation's were regularly sent to institutions such as Dr Barnardo's Homes and excess funds raised for the RNLI lifeboats in 1881 were given to the 'Children's Wing' of the London Hospital. The merit of these causes was enforced by the poem ''The "Boy's Own" Cot', which exemplifies the sentimental amateur writing regularly published in middle-class family periodicals of the nineteenth century. The poem offered a melodramatic objectification of the poor and was most likely published to encourage an emotional response that would elicit further financial support for these charitable causes.

At the same time that the *Boy's Own Paper* was advocating the support of these institutions in its editorial columns, Eiloart's fictional series 'The Ill-Used Boy' was also dealing with aspects of social welfare. The plot's emphasis on rescuing Tom, a young orphan from the East End of London, from a life of crime offered a lesson in social responsibility. Acorn House, the home for boys run by Miss Bransome with the financial support of Mr Hartley, mirrored the homes for boys in London that were modelled on a domestic family ideal. Reed's 'My Friend Smith', which ran the following year, also addressed issues of self-help and philanthropy through the relationship of Billy, the young shoeblack, and his middle-class benefactors. It is not a coincidence that different genres were used to inculcate the paper's views of self-help charity, as the *Boy's Own Paper* was clearly under the editorial direction of Hutchison.

By offering a study that considers the variety of literature published in the *Boy's Own Paper*, this thesis has provided valuable original research that contributes to the development of a comprehensive examination of the publication. While the publication may have used well-known authors of both fiction and non-fiction as a means of drawing in readers, this thesis has clearly shown that various genres overlapped and that the consistency in the publication was not based on a fiction/non-fiction binary but on unifying ideological representations.

This thesis also demonstrates the kind of research that is needed to advance the study of nineteenth-century juvenile periodicals research. As addressed in the introduction to this thesis, digital accessibility has opened up new possibilities for researchers of nineteenth-century periodicals to engage directly with the text through keyword searches; however, digitized copies have their limitations, too. Patrick Leary writes: 'The inherent disaggregation of texts approached via electronic searching, in which each 'hit' is returned embedded in an arbitrary unit of surrounding text'.[14] Leary's article raises important questions about the research produced when the digitally accessible periodicals are the principal sources consulted. The exclusion of paratextual material is particularly problematic given that digital editions of periodicals, including the *Boy's Own Paper*, are scanned from the annual bound volumes from which the ephemeral has been removed. Ten years on, Laurel Brake revisits Leary's arguments in light of increasing online access to digitised collections of newspapers and periodicals. She argues that the importance of provenance found in print editions and that '[i]deally, what we as scholars of nineteenth-century serials need is the continued availability of both print and digital formats'.[15] For a more holistic reading of the periodical, it is crucial that digital and print versions are studied together.

In agreement with Leary and Brake, I also suggest that in order to fully understand the periodical nature of the *Boy's Own Paper* it is essential that print copies should also be consulted as each copy has their own story written on them. In 1891 a *Boy's Own Paper* article encouraged readers to create a storage box for their weeklies in order to save them from 'being hidden beneath dust and dirt, and perhaps splashes of ink.'[16] And yet for many of us, finding those splashes of ink is what makes researching periodicals so fascinating. One such moment occurred when in I purchased a copy of the 1914 *Boy's Own Annual*. Within the pages I found a letter from a B. H. Mitchell, Deputy Q.C. Manager for a Quality Assurance

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[14] Patrick Leary, 'Googling the Victorians', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10 (2005), 72-86 (p. 80).
[15] Laurel Brake, 'London Letter: Researching the Historical Press, Now and Here', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 48 (2015), 245-253 (p. 253).
[16] Bennett, "How to Make a Case for the Current Numbers of the 'B.O.P.'," 377.

Laboratory sent to Kits, dated 9/7/80 requesting details on an MSF clock they would be interested in using. On the back of the letter is a pencil sketch diagram of some sort of transmitter. It also has page numbers for three articles within the *Boy's Own Paper*. Page 39 – 'In the Workshop: The "B.O.P." Wireless Telegraph' by G. G. Blake. Page 287 – 'In the Workshop: How to Make a Simple Spectroscope by M. Joseph. And page 346 – 'My Land-Sailing Yacht' by W. G. Anson. Although I am unable to determine how these articles may have influenced the work of Cambridge Kits, it demonstrates an instance in which the *Boy's Own Paper* was used as a source of information – even sixty-six years after publication. This letter is unique to the shabby, incomplete volume that sits on my shelf. However, it does give insight into how the *Boy's Own Paper* did succeed to a certain degree in providing an encyclopedic resource that Hutchison aspired to produce.

While this thesis focused on a close reading of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s textual materials, certain wider, contextual questions remain. Based on the research provided here we can ask: How did the *Boy's Own Paper*'s masculine ideal compare with that of other contemporary boys' magazines? What other publications did *Boy's Own Paper* authors contribute? And what did that say about the *Boy's Own Paper*'s underlying political stance regarding issues such as military action and women's right to vote? How many women authors contributed to male-specific journals? Were they known authors outside of these publications? And finally, how did the publication's celebration of boyhood influence its treatment of girlhood? These concluding queries suggest a few of the numerous research questions that would benefit from further investigation.

In studying the *Boy's Own Paper*'s position in periodical publishing, we have come to understand the cultural contribution it has made to our understanding of nineteenth-century juvenile literature and British culture in general. By studying the publication's image of masculinity, we have uncovered the complex relationship between gender an national identity during this time. In conclusion, let us return to Cecil Northcott's appeal that opened this thesis: 'How much of the British way of life was inculcated by the *B.O.P.* would make a worthy theme for some researcher!'. It has been more than a worthy theme, and this thesis has

delivered a valuable and necessary foundation for the work that is still yet to be done in the field of nineteenth-century periodicals and the *Boy's Own Paper*.

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